

Anna Maria Theocharaki

The Ancient Circuit Walls of Athens

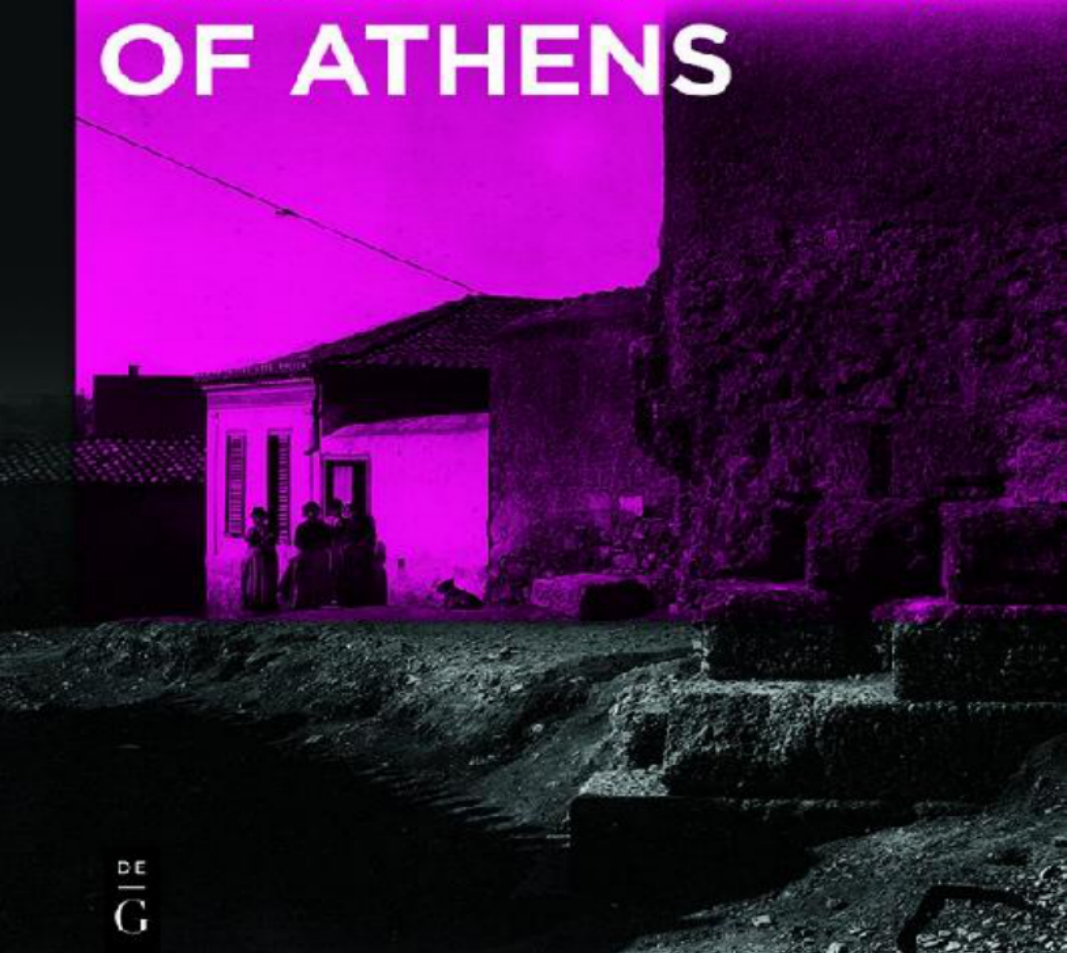
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Anna Maria Theodoraki

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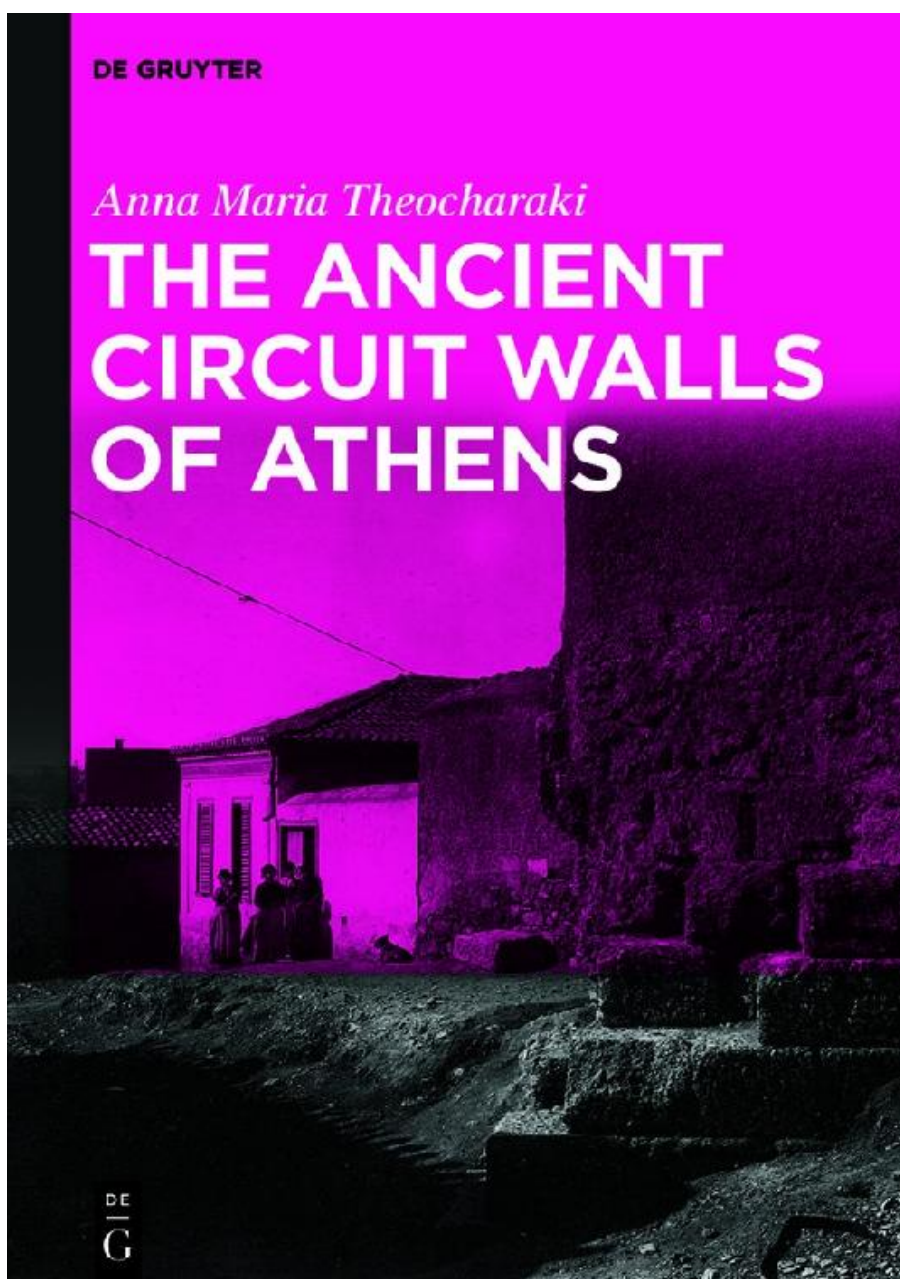
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Preface/Acknowledgments

More than 182 excavations carried out in Athens have brought to light various fragmented pieces of evidence that have created a concrete basis for the study of the ancient Athenian city-wall. The original length of the Themistoklean enclosure is estimated to be 6,400 meters, and so far, approximately 1,500 meters have been investigated. In the never-ending story of the walls' discovery, year by year, new sections are being revealed within the fabric of the modern city, and every bit of information raises a new set of questions for further research. Every new section of the city wall that comes to light may not just reveal an additional piece completing the puzzle of an already-restored line, but also indicate a curve to an assumed straight line, or reveal the potential for an existing gate or postern, which may alter long-established interpretations of Athenian topography. Rescue excavations in Athens continue to be a constant challenge for ancient topography.

On the occasion of the English edition, oversights of the original Greek book have been corrected, the results of recent rescue excavations have enriched the content, and bibliographical references have been updated. The Catalogue of Sites includes archaeological information and data from volumes 60–66 (2005–2011) of the *Archaiologikon Deltion*, and, as a result, new excavation sites have been added to the corpus of the English edition, whereas others were enhanced with new information. Moreover, further improvements and additions were made during the new mapping of the physical remains of the city wall. Otherwise, the English edition on the Athenian city walls remains essentially the same as the original one published in Greek.

In writing this book, I was fortunate to collaborate with field archaeologists who have revealed city-wall remains in the urban fabric for over five decades. I wish to warmly thank the Ephor Emerita Theodora Karagiorga for her enthusiastic support in this research. Special thanks are due to several archaeologists of the then First and Third Ephorates of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, who worked on the extremely demanding rescue

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The book is dedicated to the Dipylon society team.

Introduction

Fortifications were a constituent element of ancient Greek cities. The walls provided security against enemy attacks, symbolizing at the same time the power of the city. Nowadays, their physical remains are witness to an enormous and costly public work of antiquity, indicated by the impressive size of the walls, their extent, and their solid and durable structure. At times of peace, the course of the wall determined the boundaries of the *asty*, and the gates provided the primary channels of communication. Occasional sieges caused disasters that are often detected by archaeological research in the remains of the walls, showing the walls to be witnesses of significant events of the city. As a vital element of topography, the fortification was inseparably bound with the history of Athens more than any other ancient monument.

This book attempts to approach the history of the Athenian fortification walls from the time of their construction up to their state of preservation today. The investigation begins with the written sources that contain references to the wall built by Themistokles at the beginning of the 5th century B.C., until the wall's reinforcement during the time of Justinian in the middle of the 6th century A.D. The work continues with the testimonies of Western travellers who visited Athens and searched for the ancient remains of the city wall, depicting them on maps that accompanied their writings. The results of archaeological investigations carried out from the mid-19th century onwards would gradually reveal the general course of the wall. This study then investigates all the preserved physical remains in today's Athens. Such a comprehensive overview may contribute on the one hand to the systematic classification of the elements of research, that so far have remained scattered and fragmented, and on the other hand to the re-examination of issues concerning the chronology, structure and topography of the ancient walls, as well as to the management practices conducted by state authorities in regards to the preservation of the remains.

The first chapter includes references by ancient writers and inscriptions on the Athenian fortifications throughout the centuries. The surviving written testimonies offer a wealth of

information that link the wall with specific historical events or political decisions about the city's defence or salvation. This relationship is examined through the speeches delivered by orators, political and military men of antiquity, or through resolutions and laws voted by the Athenian state. Ancient sources provide essential information about the circumstances of the initial construction and subsequent renovations of the wall, as well as the type of construction, masonry, and the building materials used.

Already in the 15th century, the legendary glamour of Athens attested by the ancient writers and the imposing volume of the ruins encountered by the first visitors from the West awakened a strong antiquarian interest. Still, the search for the ancient city and its monuments reached a momentum only after the middle of the 17th century and peaked especially during the two pre-revolutionary decades of the 19th century. The manifestation of such intense interest prompted the inclusion, in the second chapter, of all references found in the works of travellers that relate to the ancient fortification, especially those concerning the remains which they discerned and recorded in their narratives and on maps of Athens that would no longer be visible or recognisable.

In the third chapter, the baton of the on-the-spot autopsy is handed over from the travellers to the archaeologists, whose expertise would allow a reading of the history of the remains with the precision of science. The persistence with which the 19th-century archaeologists studied the data of their research demonstrates the significance that they afforded to this monument. However, at the same time its fate remains uncertain: sections of the city wall are being discovered only to disappear immediately afterwards under the new foundations of buildings as the young city grows upon its ancient predecessor. With the first so-called rescue excavations during the Interwar period, new parts of the fortification came to light. The rescue work was intensified especially in the 1960s and 1970s resulting in the increasing density of already identified findings of the city wall and the parallel formation of the first established views regarding the building phases of the Athenian fortification and their chronology. The monograph on the urban development of Athens (*Πολοδομική Εξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, 1960) by John Travlos remains a classic work on the documentation and synthesis of the knowledge that existed until that time on the Athenian city walls; part of the

ambition of this book is the systematic presentation and study of the archaeological remains revealed from 1960 onwards.

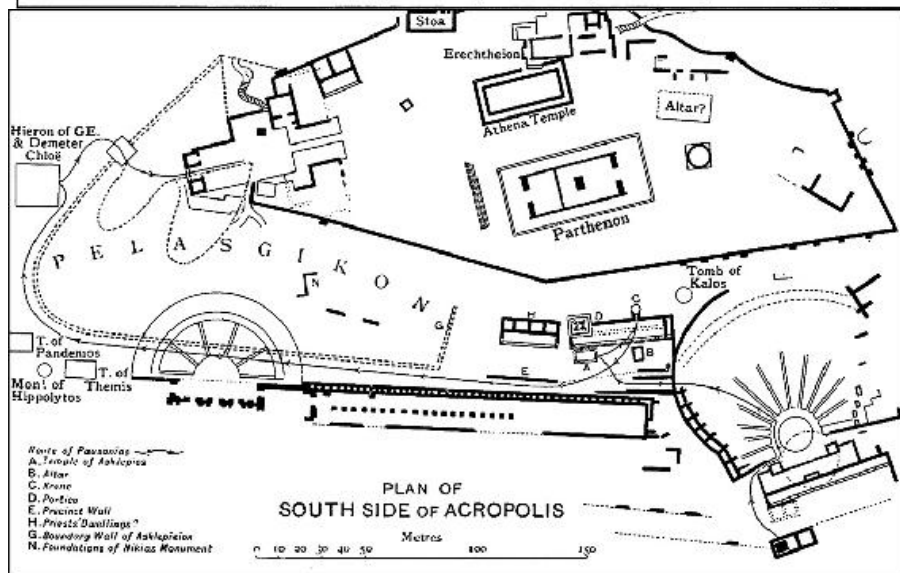
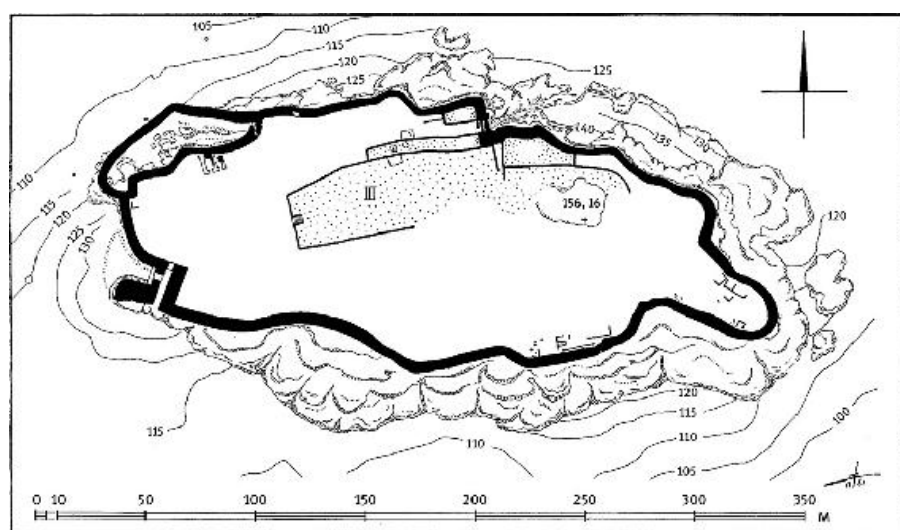
The fourth chapter attempts to synthesize the central conclusions of the archaeological research on the walls of ancient Athens. The structural elements of the fortification are described in their chronological sequence and are studied according to their shared features. The primary objective is the incorporation of the findings into discrete building phases as well as the description of those building phases whose characteristics can be documented from the available data. The basis of this synthesis is summed up in the Catalogue of Sites at the end of the book and comprises selected information from the study of the material.

The fifth chapter describes the course of the main fortification lines over time and attempts to re-examine them in the light of new discoveries. Additionally, it focuses on the search for the location of the Themistoklean gates as well as the presentation of certain aspects of an old discussion: the identification of the Themistoklean gates with their names preserved in the ancient sources. The positions of the gates are sought either on the basis of the surviving ancient foundations or, when these have not yet been found or have been permanently lost, according to archaeological evidence suggesting a strong possibility as to their location.

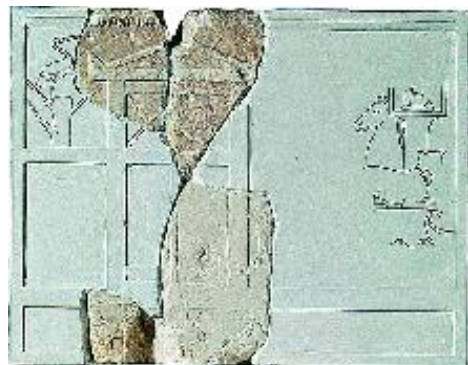
The reconstruction of the courses of the city walls and the location of the gates within the modern urban fabric is illustrated in a map attached to the back cover. The map was drafted with the primary purpose of providing an overall view of the expanse of the wall in antiquity. Its study makes it possible to identify and associate in space the positions of the excavated sections concerning the main components of the fortification, that is, the curtain wall, its gates and towers, as well as other elements of the organisation of the ancient city, such as the road network.

It is our contention that in today's Athens, the individual remains of the ancient wall are linked to one other with a new role, as parts of a single monument, and concern society itself as a cultural asset. Therefore, their state of preservation takes on a special place in this book. That is why Chapter 6 looks at the way in which the wall of ancient Athens has been integrated into the city in which we live. The majority of physical remains of the wall are kept in obscure places and away from contemporary life, although one may find that many of these are preserved along the common

routes of passers-by. This attempt aims to play a part in ensuring that the ancient Athenian wall may spark the interest and excite the curiosity of the Athenian traveller of the 21st century.





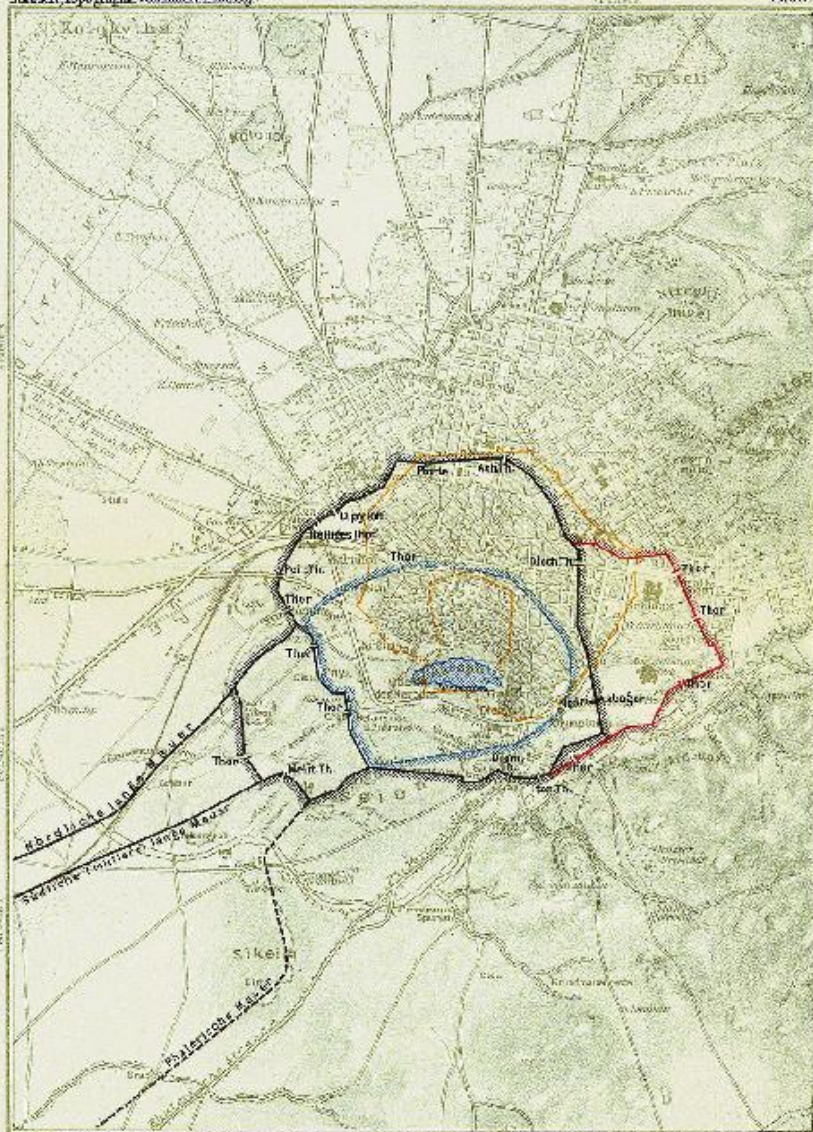


DIE MAUERRINGE ATHENS

Jacobs Topographie von Athen 2. Aufl. 1899

Plan IV

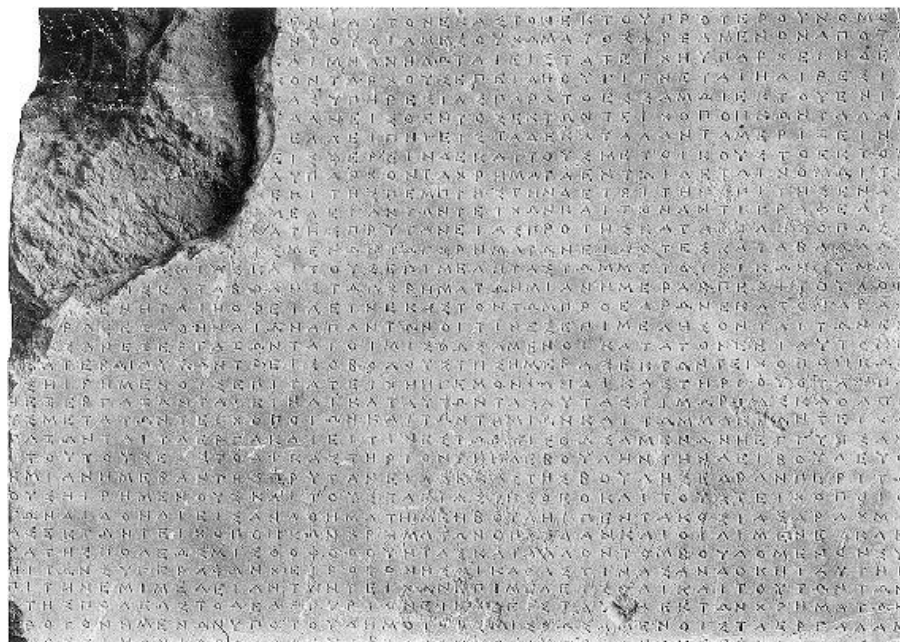
Plan IV



Maßstab 1:32 300

— Peloponnesische Mauer,
 — Römische Stadtmauer,
 — Theodosianischer Ring,
 — Diokletianische Mauer,
 — Konstantinische Mauer,
 — Türkische Mauer.

C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung in München



1 Ancient Sources for the City Walls

1 Ancient sources for the pre-fifth century B.C. walls

The ancient testimonia have always provided a rich source of inspiration as well as a fundamental guide for the study of Athenian topography. Scholars of the 17th century attempted to write the history of Athens relying solely on these ancient sources, while western travellers visited the city in the hope of identifying its ancient monuments, following in the footsteps of Pausanias. From such early endeavours and up to our own times, students of the city's ancient remains begin from the works of these same authors. This chapter will present the literary and epigraphical testimonia for the Athenian walls in chronological order, covering the period from the 5th century B.C. to the 6th century A.D.

Indisputable historical evidence and concrete physical remains exist only for the Themistoklean wall and its subsequent reconstructions and extensions. The present study of the Athenian fortifications thus has as its starting point the testimonies of those written sources referring to the Themistoklean wall, but we must

first consider two prior questions which relate to the earlier fortifications of Athens, topics that have long occupied researchers. The first relates to the Pelargikon and its extent, and the second to the existence of a fortified *peribolos* in the period before Themistokles. Before dealing with the main theme of this study, we will attempt to explore through the written evidence some of the principal problems which must be tackled by any researcher investigating the evolution of the fortifications of the city before 479/8 B.C., the year the Themistoklean wall was constructed, beginning with the Mycenaean period.

The earliest mention of habitation on the Acropolis is from Thucydides, who says that before the time of Theseus the city consisted entirely of the Acropolis (2.15.3): τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἢ νῦν οὔσα πόλις ἦν.¹ Thucydides' testimony is supported by the earliest pottery finds from the Acropolis, which date to the Middle Helladic period (ca. 2050–1600 B.C.),² while the oldest building remains discovered on the rock go back to around 1600–1500 B.C.; later still, retaining walls and terraces were constructed (ca. 1375–1225 B.C.), upon which the Mycenaean palace was built (Fig. 1),³ and it is perhaps to this that Homer makes reference in the *Odyssey* when he tells of the visit of the goddess Athena to Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸν δόμον (7.81), the strong house of Erechtheus.⁴

Fig. 1: The wall of the Athenian Acropolis encircled most of the surface of the rock during the Mycenaean period; here is a plan of the walls according to Iakovidis with the Pelargikon at the northwest. Within the circuit of the walls are traces of the retaining walls and terraces on which the Mycenaean palace was built. Iakovidis (1962) 204, fig. 38.

The main residential area of the Mycenaean period, however, developed around the rock and beyond it. This has been proven by the rich pottery finds discovered on the sunnier southern slope of the Acropolis, particularly in the area west and south of the Asklepieion, which mainly date to the period ca. 1500–1300 B.C.⁵ The evidence is consistent with Thucydides' assessment concerning the direction in which the city of Athens developed beneath the Acropolis in the time before Theseus: τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον (2.15.3).⁶

It must have been the fear of imminent invasion that led the

residents of the Acropolis and the area below it to construct the strong fortification encircling the upper surface of the rock which dates to LH IIIB2 (ca. 1225–1190 B.C.)⁷ (Fig. 1). The two faces of the wall were built in irregular courses with huge boulders, founded directly into the rock and following its contours, and it was assembled using the same construction techniques we find at the other Mycenaean citadels, such as Mycenae and Tiryns.⁸ Apart from the fortification of the rock itself, some other points must have been walled around its slopes, perhaps including the so-called Pelargikon, in order to safeguard the residential areas, sanctuaries and animals of the population located at the foot of the Acropolis.⁹ A brief tour of the ancient written sources for the Pelargikon is perhaps a useful introduction to the questions surrounding the position and extent of this wall.

The Pelargikon

Recounting an old tradition preserved by Hecataeus of Miletus (545–475 B.C.), Herodotus says that the Pelasgians were allowed by the Athenians to live on Mount Hymettus in return for having built the strong walls (6.137.2): τὴν σφίσι αὐτοῖσι ὑπὸ τὸν Ὑμηττὸν ἐοῦσαν ἔδοσαν Πελασγοῖσι οἰκῆσαι μισθὸν τοῦ τείχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κοτε ἐληλαμένου.¹⁰ The Pelargikon, as a work of the Pelasgians, was thus connected by Herodotus to the fortification of the rock, and up until the time of Pausanias the tradition was still alive that the legendary Pelasgian masons of the walls of the Acropolis were Agrolas and Hyperbios (Paus. 1.28.3). It is not possible to verify if this reflects a memory of historical events or is merely fiction; the idea, however, is thought to be interwoven with the tradition in the Classical era that the Athenians were autochthonous.¹¹

Ancient sources mention both the Pelasgikon and the Pelargikon. Moreover, it appears that the two names could be used in antiquity to refer not only to the Mycenaean wall of the Acropolis, but also to a wall on the slopes, as well as to an area that that wall enclosed, but research into these names has until now failed to deliver any tangible results.¹² In the following discussion, the conventional name Pelargikon will be used, which, as we will see, had already prevailed during the 5th century B.C.

Herodotus provides several references to the Acropolis being

the last refuge for certain political men in the Archaic period, such as Kylon in 632/1 B.C. (5.71), Peisistratos around 560 B.C. (1.59.6), and Isagoras in 508 B.C. (5.72), but he makes no explicit reference to the walls of the Acropolis. With regard to the Pelasgikon or Pelargikon, the historian connects it to a critical moment in the political history of the Archaic period, the overthrow of tyranny in 510 B.C., when Hippias, son of Peisistratos, and his followers were besieged there by their Athenian opponents and the Spartan king Kleomenes (Hdt. 5.64): Κλεομένης ... ἐπολιόρκεε τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεργγμένους ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχεϊ.¹³ The same event is told by Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 19.5): κατακλείσας τὸν Ἰππίαν εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Πελαργικὸν τεῖχος ἐπολιόρκει μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.¹⁴

Subsequent references to the Pelargikon relate to Classical times, when most of the Acropolis fortifications had changed completely, since the Mycenaean wall of the summit had first been covered by the fortifications orchestrated by Themistokles (479 B.C.),¹⁵ later by those of Kimon (466 B.C.), and further still under the Periklean building programme (447–438 B.C.).¹⁶ The character of the Pelargikon at this point is mentioned by Thucydides while recounting the events of the first year of the Peloponnesian War in 431 B.C. In this context, the historian refers to the settlement of Athenian refugees in the area of the Pelargikon who had moved from the Attic countryside (2.17.1): οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τὰ τε ἐρῆμα τῆς πόλεως ὤκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἡρῶα πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἑλευσινίου καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κληστὸν ἦν· τό τε Πελαργικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ ἐπάρατόν τε ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν καὶ τι καὶ Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιόνδε διεκώλυε, λέγον ὡς «Τὸ Πελαργικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον», ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς παραχρῆμα ἀνάγκης ἐξωκλήθη.¹⁷ It seems that at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War the Pelargikon was considered a sacred area, fenced off with a clearly defined boundary and in a position expressly distinguishable from the Acropolis and located beneath it.¹⁸

The Athenians attempted to address the undesirable situation caused by the settlement of the Pelargikon during the Archidamean War in the amendment of Lampon to the decree 'on the first fruits' (*IG I³* 78, ll. 47–61), which dates between 423 and 421/420 B.C.¹⁹: ἐν τ[ῶ]ι Πελαργικῷ (ll. 54–55).²⁰ The decree instructs the Archon Basileus to define the boundaries of the sanctuaries within the Pelargikon, and prescribes that altars are not to be established within those areas without the consent of the

Council and the Assembly of the people, as well as forbidding the removal of stones and earth from the Pelargikon. Any violation of the terms of the decree will result in large financial penalties, and anyone infringing any of its provisions is to be denounced in the Council by the Archon Basileus and forced to pay a fine of five hundred drachmas.

Leaving aside the historians of the 5th century B.C., there are also references to the Pelargikon in Athenian drama, in which it is presented as an emblematic site in the history of the city.²¹ It may be on the grassy land of the Pelargikon, near the cave of Pan, that the daughters of Kekrops danced, as described by Euripides in the *Ion* (ll. 495–498).²² Flocks of storks (*pelargos* being the Greek for stork) are to undertake the construction of the Pelargikon walls of Cloudcuckooland in the *Birds* of Aristophanes (414 B.C.) (l. 832: τῆς πόλεως τὸ Πελαργικόν), where the allusion must have brought to the minds of the Athenians the legendary Pelasgian builders of the Acropolis walls (l. 1139: ἕτεροι δ' ἐπλινθούργουν πελαργοὶ μύριοι).²³

References to the Pelargikon continue in the written sources for a further four centuries. It was still believed at the time of Strabo (1st century B.C.–1st century A.D.) that the Pelargikon was associated with the ancient residence of the Pelasgians (9.2.3): ἐξέβαλον τοὺς μὲν Πελασγοὺς εἰς Ἀθήνας, ἀφ' ὧν ἐκλήθη μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως Πελασγικόν, ὥκησαν δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ Ὑμητῷ.²⁴ Pollux (mid-2nd century A.D.) makes mention of the Pelargikon in a section which says that in an earlier time, the Pelargikon was a place of extensive stone robbing, so that the Athenian state prohibited the excavation and removal of material from the site, and that the implementation of these stipulations was entrusted to specific officials (*Onom.* 8, 101): Πάρεδροι. οὗτοι παρεφύλαττον μή τις ἐντὸς τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ κείρει ἢ κατὰ πλεον ἐξορύττει.²⁵

Lucian (ca. A.D. 120–200) chooses the spot of the Pelargikon for his dialogue *The Fisherman* (47), as being the perfect setting for the character Parrhesiades, whom he places sitting high up on the wall of the rock, supposedly ‘fishing’ for philosophers with his rod: Philosophy asks him, “τί ταῦτα, ὦ Παρρησιάδη, ποιεῖς; ἢ που τοὺς λίθους ἀλιεύσεις διέγνωκας ἐκ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ;”²⁶ alluding to the prohibition on the removal of stones from the Pelargikon, which shows the ruinous state into which the wall had fallen by that point. In the same work, Lucian depicts a host of philosophers jostling with each other to receive the reward of two minas and a

seed cake (*The Fisherman* 42): πλήρης μὲν ἡ ἄνοδος ὠθιζομένων ἐπὶ τὰς δύο μνᾶς, ὡς ἤκουσαν μόνον· παρὰ δὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἄλλοι καὶ κατὰ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἕτεροι καὶ παρὰ τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον ἔτι πλείους, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Τάλω τάφον, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἀνακεῖον προσθέμενοι κλίμακας ἀνέρπουσι βομβηδόν.²⁷ We can infer from this narrative the central position that the Pelargikon held in the city of Athens in the 2nd century A.D., as it is listed together with the Asklepieion, the Areopagos, the tomb of Talos, and the Anakeion.

The significance of the Pelargikon is also confirmed during the time of Herodes Atticus by its connection to the Panathenaic procession. Philostratos notes, around the middle of the 2nd century A.D., that the boat that carried the *peplos* of the goddess Athena came from the Kerameikos to the Pythion, after having passed the Pelargikon (*V S* 550): ἐκ Κεραμεικοῦ δὲ ἄρασαν χιλία κώπη ἀφεῖναι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον καὶ περιβαλοῦσαν αὐτὸ παραμεῖψαι τὸ Πελασγικὸν κομιζομένην τε παρὰ τὸ Πύθιον ἐλθεῖν, οἷ νῦν ὤρμισται.²⁸ The access to the Acropolis from the north slope of the rock is described here as being in the immediate vicinity of the Pelargikon.²⁹ The position of the Pelargikon can then be determined at the north slope, and from Lucian at a place just below the cave of Pan (*The Double Indictment* 9): ἀγνοεῖς τὸν Πᾶνα ... οἰκεῖ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πελασγικοῦ.³⁰

The Pelargikon was connected directly in the mid-4th century B.C. with the Enneapylon in a passage of Klei(to)demos: καὶ ἡπέδιζον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, περιέβαλλον δὲ ἐννεάπυλον τὸ Πελαργικόν,³¹ but also indirectly with the Kyloneion, as we see from the reference of Polemon (ca. 210–170 B.C.) to the Ἐννέα Πύλες, the Nine Gates: οὗ τὸ ἱερόν ἐστι παρὰ τὸ Κυλώνειον, ἐκτὸς τῶν Ἐννέα πυλῶν.³²

The above presentation of the sources shows that the Pelasgikon or Pelargikon belongs to a class of monuments of the ancient city whose existence is frequently attested in our sources. According to literary and epigraphical evidence, the existence of the Pelargikon under the Acropolis is indisputable; nevertheless, its exact course is unknown, and for this reason it has occupied a great many researchers from the 19th century until today.³³ There are several ancient walls that have at times been identified with the remains of the Pelargikon on the south slope of the Acropolis, specifically in the area between the Asklepieion and the Odeion of Herodes Atticus.³⁴ These walls, however, are now dated by

archaeologists to the Archaic period and not to Mycenaean times, and so the position of the Pelargikon remains only vaguely located.³⁵ When it comes to the dating of the Pelargikon, it is thought that the much sought-after wall was built either at the same time as the Mycenaean walls around the top of the citadel,³⁶ or in a subsequent period,³⁷ perhaps in the early 12th century B.C.³⁸

At least four proposals have been put forward for the location of the Pelargikon below the Acropolis.³⁹ Firstly, early researchers such as Curtius and Bötticher expressed the view that the Pelargikon perhaps encircled the fortified Acropolis in a zone around its four slopes, while the Enneapylon, identified as the Pelargikon, will have had gates opening up at equal distances over the route of its circular wall.⁴⁰ According to a second view, advocated by Dörpfeld, as well as a part of the northwest side and the entire west side of the rock, the Pelargikon also enclosed a large area of the south slope, and extended from the Klepsydra at the northwest of the rock to the Asklepieion and the Archaic fountain to its south (Fig. 2).⁴¹

Fig. 2: According to the predominant view, the Pelargikon was located to the west and south of the rock (plan Jane Ellen Harrison). Harrison/Verrall (1890) 296, pl. 35.

The third view, first put forward by Wachsmuth, is that the Pelargikon was in front of the main western entrance to the Acropolis, forming a reinforced section of the most vulnerable part of the rock, and encompassing also the Klepsydra⁴²; there may also have been a winding path which gradually led through the fortified gates along successive terraces, finally arriving at the entrance of the Acropolis, as proposed by Harrison.⁴³ A fourth view, chiefly argued by Iakovidis, has connected the Pelargikon with the lower elongated plateau of the rock at the northwest of the Acropolis (Fig. 1); it would have included the three sacred caves situated above the Klepsydra, but left the actual spring outside of its boundaries.⁴⁴

These views encompass a large number of hypotheses, some more convincing than others. The majority of scholars support the second view, favouring a broader extent of the Pelargikon west and south of the rock. An interpretation of Luigi Beschi strengthens this line of argument, and concerns an identification

in the iconography of the dedicatory stele of Telemachos, the founder of the Asklepieion on the south slope (Fig. 3). The back of the relief depicts the propylon of the shrine of Asklepios; to the left of the door and a little higher than its midpoint, there appears to be the end of a *peribolos* wall, behind which sits a stork on the branch of a tree (Fig. 4). Beschi aptly interpreted this stork as a symbol of the Pelargikon wall.⁴⁵

Fig. 3: A fragment from the reverse of the dedicatory relief of Telemachos, founder of the Asklepieion (420/19 B.C.). It shows part of the propylon of the sanctuary; to the left of the propylon, behind a wall, is a tree on which perches a stork. Archaeological Museum of Padua (no. 14). Photo courtesy of the Municipality of Padua - Department of Culture and Tourism. (ph. G. Ghiraldini).

Fig. 4: The two-sided Telemachos relief, reverse. Acropolis Museum, hall of the Slopes. Photo courtesy of the Acropolis Museum (EAM 2490+). (ph. Sokratis Mavromatis).

And so the ‘mysterious’⁴⁶ Pelargikon and the search for its course remain problematic, and what can be said on the subject hardly exceeds mere conjecture. This wall, whose construction history is lost in the depths of centuries, may have consisted of a fortification which received reconstructions, additions, or extensions as necessity dictated, but which were never recorded as new fortification works in themselves. As to the question of whether the Pelargikon, together with the Mycenaean wall over the summit of the rock, was the only fortification of the city before the Persian Wars, this is connected with the problem of the existence in the Archaic period of a wall that surrounded the city, to which we will now turn.

The Archaic *peribolos*

The impression created in the ancient sources by descriptions of important events of the Archaic period suggests that the Acropolis was the only fortification capable of providing a place of refuge, for example to figures such as Kylon, Peisistratos, and Hippias. The choice of Marathon and of Salamis as the fields of conflict against the Persians, and not the city itself, also raises questions about the existence of a fortified *peribolos*. In the Delphic oracle given to the

Athenians before the battle of Salamis, reference is made to a wooden wall (τείχος ξύλινον) of the city as the ideal place to shelter within (Hdt. 7.141), while Herodotus, who transmits the oracle, does not make reference to any city-walls of stone.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the absence of definitive remains of an Archaic circuit wall, combined with the perceived inadequacies of the literary sources, has led to the view that its existence must be considered extremely unlikely.⁴⁸ The Cyclopean walls of the Acropolis and the Pelargikon have been recognized by eminent scholars of Athenian topography - Dörpfeld chief among them - as the only fortification of the city from the time of Theseus to Themistokles in 479 B.C.⁴⁹ Was there not, then, a walled city of Athens before the Persian Wars?

Some researchers, relying on the ancient written sources, tend to favour the existence of an Archaic wall. Herodotus states that the conflagration set in the wake of Mardonios' retreat in the winter of 479 B.C. destroyed anything that remained standing of the walls, houses and temples (9.13.2): εἴ κού τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας.⁵⁰ The orator Andocides tells a similar story: writing in 399 B.C., he recounts that the Athenians, when they returned to their city after the Persian evacuation, found their temples burnt and their walls and houses demolished (1.108): [οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι] ... τὴν πόλιν ἀνάστατον παραλαβόντες ἱερά τε κατακεκαυμένα τείχη τε καὶ οἰκίας καταπεπτωκυίας.⁵¹ These sources indicate that the walls before Themistokles were an integral part of the *asty*, together with the residential areas and sanctuaries. Herodotus refers in his sixth book to the wall built by the Pelasgians on the Acropolis (see above, p. 7); the phrase τοῦ τείχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν (6.137.2) probably juxtaposed the wall of the Acropolis with another wall. Perhaps this other wall was around the *asty*, and it is of this that the historian speaks when narrating its demolition (9.13.2).⁵²

The most important evidence in support of the existence of an Archaic wall is from Thucydides, who writes that, after the Persians withdrew, the Athenians prepared to rebuild the city and its walls, very few sections of the fortifications having remained standing (1.89.3): [Οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι] τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τείχη· τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχεία εἰστήκει καὶ οἰκίαι αἰ μὲν πολλαὶ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, ὀλίγαι δὲ περιῆσαν, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ ἐσκήνωσαν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Περσῶν.⁵³ The historian adds that the

new fortification, the Themistoklean wall, was extended to a much greater degree and in doing so encompassed the entire city of Athens (1.93.2): *μείζων γὰρ ὁ περίβολος πανταχῇ ἐξήχθη τῆς πόλεως*.⁵⁴ It is implied here that the *peribolos* not only expanded (*ἐξήχθη*) beyond the city limits,⁵⁵ but also beyond the boundaries of the earlier, smaller fortification circuit.⁵⁶

In his narrative of the assassination of Hipparchos (514 B.C.), Thucydides locates the beginning of the venture *ἔξω ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ καλουμένῳ* (6.57.1).⁵⁷ Hippias is found organising the preparation of the Great Panathenaic procession, while Harmodios and Aristogeiton were close enough to see him.⁵⁸ When the Tyrannicides believed they had been betrayed, they changed their plan, *ῥῆμυσαν ἔσω τῶν πυλῶν* (6.57.3),⁵⁹ and the action moved to the Leokoreion.⁶⁰ The description of the episode refers initially to some place outside the walls, in the area of the Kerameikos, and also reveals that the road connecting the Kerameikos and the Leokoreion passed through a gate of the walls in the Archaic period.⁶¹ The boundaries of the Kerameikos are not yet clearly understood,⁶² but a possible hint at the course of the Archaic walls in relation to the Kerameikos is indicated by the position of a *horos* stone of the Kerameikos from the early 4th century,⁶³ or perhaps the late 5th century B.C.,⁶⁴ which was found in 1939 near the entrance to the Agora in its original position, 80 m. northwest of the Stoa Basileios. This *horos* defines to the south the width of the ancient road that crossed the Kerameikos, and it is the only boundary-marker of the Kerameikos discovered within the limits of the Themistoklean circuit.⁶⁵ Its position may allow us to identify the boundaries of the Kerameikos of the Archaic period, and it has been used to support the view that initially the southeastern borders of the Kerameikos were set by the Archaic walls.⁶⁶ But how can the evidence for the existence of an Archaic *peribolos* derived from the written sources, and perhaps also from the above Kerameikos *horos*, be combined with the archaeological data?⁶⁷

Archaic cities were usually walled, as has been demonstrated by archaeological investigations in Eretria,⁶⁸ Corinth,⁶⁹ Eleusis,⁷⁰ but also in the cities of Boeotia,⁷¹ a fact which strengthens the argument in favour of the existence of an Archaic *peribolos* at Athens.⁷² According to Judeich, who first objected to Dörpfeld's doubting of the existence of an Archaic circuit wall, it was impossible for Athens not to have such walls when all of Greece consisted of walled cities.⁷³ Travlos underlined also that, even if we

lack relevant evidence, Dörpfeld's case must be inadmissible because it is impossible to imagine that during the time of Solon and Peisistratos, when the powerful walls of Eleusis were raised up, the capital of the *polis* was left entirely unfortified.⁷⁴ The question of whether a circuit wall formed an integral part of the Archaic city is still being discussed, with scholars focusing principally on the relationship between walls and the rise of the *polis* as the dominant political force.⁷⁵

Archaeological research has suggested some concrete parameters for studying the fate of the hypothetical Athenian wall of the Archaic period, which are often linked to its chronology. One of the first questions to be examined was the correlation of the walls with the locations of Athenian burials (*sepulturae intra urbem*). Cicero learned in 45 B.C. from his friend Servius Sulpicius that burials within the city had long ago been forbidden: 'I could not obtain a place of burial within the city, as they said they were prevented from doing so by religious regulations, and in any case no one was ever before assigned such a right'.⁷⁶ On the basis of this information, it has been argued that the interruption in use of the Archaic cemetery on the northwest edge of the Areopagos around 500 B.C. is related to the adoption of a prohibition of burials within the walls.⁷⁷ Young, who carried out the excavation of the area, assumed that an Archaic fortification wall predated this sumptuary law, and was built before the end of 6th century B.C.⁷⁸

Looking for the point in time when these burial prohibitions were adopted, and linking that with some necessity to construct new walls, Judeich proposed that it was part of the cleansing of Athens following the Kylon affair, and so dated the construction of the walls from the 7th to (at the latest) the 6th century B.C. Judeich believed the course of the Archaic wall surrounded the city expanding radially around the Acropolis (Fig. 5). He felt that in Hadrianic times enough remains of the Archaic *peribolos* were visible. He furthermore maintained the existence of an earlier gate of the Archaic walls on the site of the Arch of Hadrian, supported by the assumption that the Arch preserved the orientation of the original gate, disregarding any spatial relationship with the Olympieion. He proposed that the wall was directed from the Arch of Hadrian towards the west and then climbed over the Hill of the Muses (Philopappos), the Pnyx and the Hill of the Nymphs, and turned to the north to reach Agoraios Kolonos and the Agora, extending out roughly to the height of modern Ermou Street.

Further on, the circle of the *peribolos* would describe a large arc until it reached back to the Arch of Hadrian.⁷⁹

Fig. 5: The walls of Athens according to Judeich (1931²) pl. IV.

The construction of walls during the Archaic period has also been considered by a number of scholars to be part of the larger building programme of Peisistratos and his sons.⁸⁰ Indeed, it was connected by Eugene Vanderpool to the point when the Acropolis became an exclusively sacred space. The loss of the traditional fortification role of the Acropolis was considered to be proven by the construction of the polygonal retaining wall on the axis of the later Mnesiklean Propylaia, as part of the reorganization of the Great Panathenaia in 566 B.C. into a penteteric festival. According to Vanderpool, this wall would cause the demolition, in 560 B.C. or a little earlier, of the old complicated entrance to the summit of the rock in a city that had just acquired new walls.⁸¹

According to Frederick Winter, the Archaic *peribolos* of the city will have protected a broad zone of the Acropolis slopes and the Areopagos, with its north arm passing between the Eleusinion and South Stoa I of the 5th century B.C.⁸² Camp, on the other hand, has stressed the need for a much more expanded course for the Archaic *peribolos* than that of Winter, in order to justify the construction of a wall greater than the Pelargikon, which will have retained its defensive value under the Peisistratids in the 6th century B.C. (Hdt. 5.64; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 19.5).⁸³ According to Camp, the Archaic wall probably passed from the area north of Kolonos Agoraios between the Stoa Basileios and the boundary stone of the Kerameikos that was found within the limits of the Themistoklean walls (as discussed above, see p. 18).⁸⁴

Another crucial factor for the chronology of the Archaic *peribolos* and the subsequent determination of its course, perhaps the most important of all, is the establishment of the central public space of the Archaic city. Travlos held the view that the expansion of the city in the early 6th century B.C. toward the area east of Kolonos Agoraios would have justified the building of a new wall of the city by Solon.⁸⁵ His restored plan of this Archaic *peribolos* enclosed a much smaller area than that proposed by Judeich: to the north it would follow a course south of the Eridanos river, continue east along the modern Adrianou and Vyronos Streets, to the south of Apostolou Pavlou Street and, taking in the Areopagos,

would close its circle at the hill of Kolonos Agoraios.⁸⁶ Travlos' proposal produces the shape of a wheel for the pre-Themistoklean city of Athens, with the Acropolis as its centre, following the words of the Delphic oracle transmitted by Herodotus: λιπὼν φεῦγ' ἔσχατα γαίης δώματα καὶ πόλιος τροχοειδέος ἄκρα κάρηνα (7.140).⁸⁷

After the discovery in 1980 of the honorific stele for Timokrite, priestess of Aglauros, in front of the eastern cave of the Acropolis, and the subsequent identification of the homonymous sanctuary,⁸⁸ proposals for the location of the Archaic Agora have concentrated mainly in the area east or northeast of the rock.⁸⁹ The course of any Archaic wall would have been fundamentally linked to the position of the Agora, which would necessarily have to be included within its circuit.

Focusing his study on the eastern and southern arcs of the ancient Street of the Tripods, Manolis Korres has proposed a different approach to the problem of the early limits of the *asty*. He assumes that this perimeter zone at the base of the Acropolis, along which choregic monuments stood up to the south side of the Stoa of Eumenes, existed as an open public space, which should be identified with the line of an older fortification and an unbuilt space before this.⁹⁰ The north course of this fortification would follow the road which led east of the Tower of the Winds; its continuation would pass by the two propylaea of the Roman Agora, the south end of the Stoa of Attalos, and finally end up, according to Korres, at the southwest corner of the Classical Agora, encompassing also the Areopagos.

In summary, none of the arguments based on the literary evidence constitutes clear evidence for or against the existence of a pre-Persian Archaic *peribolos*. A wall potentially built in the Archaic period which lent a certain prestige to the aristocratic society of Athens would hardly have gone unremarked.⁹¹ Despite the absence of ancient sources directly mentioning the construction or presence of an Archaic wall of the *asty*, those who deny its existence encounter the difficulties of Thucydides' references, which build up a picture of a pre-existing wall of the city: 1.89.3: τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχέα εἰστίκει, and 1.93.2: μείζων γὰρ ὁ περίβολος πανταχῇ ἐξήχθη τῆς πόλεως, but also in the topography of the Tyrannicides' action from ἔξω ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ καλουμένῳ (6.57.1) to the area ἔσω τῶν πυλῶν (6.57.3). Herodotus' statement εἴ κού τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν τειχέων (9.13)

constitutes additional evidence for the destruction of the fortifications of Archaic Athens. In any case, the absence of any definite archaeological traces does not necessarily prove that the city had no fortified *peribolos* in the 6th century B.C. This could be a result of the extensive destruction of the walls by the Persians, and possibly from the subsequent reuse of their stone blocks for the construction of the Themistoklean circuit.⁹² It was the erection of these Themistoklean walls that would radically transform the landscape of ancient Athens by introducing a new chapter in the urban development of the city.

2 Ancient sources for the walls of the 5th century B.C. and later

1 The Themistoklean fortification (479/8 B.C.)

Thucydides' references to the construction of the circuit wall provide a wide range of information, from the strategy implemented by Themistokles through to the building methods and scope of the works. Thucydides links the building of the walls with the rising power of the Athenians. Recounting the events following the battle of Plataia and the Persian withdrawal in 479 B.C., he focuses on the resentment felt by the Spartans against any possibility of the erection of a wall in the city of Athens. According to his narrative, when Themistokles arrived at Sparta, he took care to delay his appearance before the ephors, in order to gain the necessary time within which the walls could be built to a sufficiently defensible height. As Thucydides tells the story, the Athenians were of the belief that it was preferable for themselves and their allies that the state should be fortified (1.91.6): Δοκεῖν οὖν σφίσι καὶ νῦν ἄμεινον εἶναι τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν τεῖχος ἔχειν, καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἐς τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους ὠφελιμώτερον ἔσεσθαι.⁹³ The concept of city walls was also inseparable from the perception the Athenians had of their city.⁹⁴ Finally, Spartan ambitions for hegemony weakened and the city imposed its independence; the walls had served as 'the ultimate symbol of power'.⁹⁵

The wall was constructed with a widespread use of materials from structures damaged during the Persian invasion, among which were many funerary monuments. The Athenians had to

move quickly in order to present the allies with a *fait accompli*. The orders were explicit: the whole population was to take part and private or public structures which contained useful building material for the wall were to be demolished (1.90.3): *τειχίζειν δὲ πάντας πανδημὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, φειδομένους μήτε ἰδίου μήτε δημοσίου οἰκοδομήματος ὅθεν τις ὠφελία ἔσται ἐς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καθαιροῦντας πάντα*.⁹⁶ The variety of stones that had been employed, laid down just as each had been brought to the site, was for Thucydides tangible evidence for the accelerated construction of the work in so short a time (1.93.1–2): *Τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, καὶ δῆλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστίν ὅτι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὐ ξυνειργασμένων ἐστὶν ἤ, ἀλλ’ ὥς ἕκαστόν ποτε προσέφερον, πολλὰ τε στήλαι ἀπὸ σημάτων καὶ λίθοι εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγησαν*.⁹⁷

Archaeological evidence for the Themistoklean wall has led certain scholars to question the historicity of Thucydides’ narrative concerning a hasty construction.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, the historian’s emphasis on the extensive use of spolia in the wall’s construction does not necessarily point to expediency.⁹⁹ References to the stratagem implemented by Themistokles are preserved in other ancient sources, such as speeches of Andocides (3.38, delivered in 391 B.C.) and Demosthenes (20.73, of 354 B.C.). The most convincing explanation for the use of the spolia is the lack of available building materials and time, along with the tremendous importance of the work for Athens.

These historical references to the Themistoklean wall constitute the starting point for our approach to the monument. The construction of the wall at the behest of Themistokles is mentioned by several other ancient writers, such as Plato (*Gorgias* 455e) and Aristophanes (*Equites* 818), while later sources, mostly following Thucydides, discuss the famous subterfuge under whose camouflage the wall was built.¹⁰⁰ In subsequent chapters we will examine the structure of the Themistoklean wall and its constituent elements (Chapter 4), trace its course (Chapter 5) and examine where and in what state it can be seen today (Chapter 6).

2 The fortification during the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.)

For a long time after the construction of the Themistoklean wall, ancient sources remain silent about the city walls. The Athenian state, however, did arrange for the construction of the Long Walls, as Thucydides tells us (1.107.1): "Ἦρξαντο δὲ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τούτους καὶ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς θάλασσαν οἰκοδομεῖν, τό τε Φαληρόνδε καὶ τὸ ἐς Πειραιᾶ.¹⁰¹ The descriptions of military affairs and historical events by Thucydides (1.105.1–106.2, 1.107.1–107.4), Aeschines (2.172–173), and Plutarch (*Kimon* 13.5–7) have led to the conclusion that the first two Long Walls, namely the North¹⁰² and the Phaleric,¹⁰³ go back to the period between 462/1 and 458/7 B.C.¹⁰⁴ Later, around 443/2 B.C., a middle arm was built almost parallel to the northern arm, which also led towards the Piraeus; we know of the existence of the wall from Thucydides (1.107.1, 1.107.4, 1.108.3, 2.13.7) and Plato (*Gorgias* 455d–e), but also from the inscribed building accounts of the Parthenon dating to 443/2 B.C. (*IG* I³ 440, l. 127).¹⁰⁵ The construction of the Long Walls were principally aimed at securing the communication lines of the *asty* with the ports of Piraeus and Phaleron, allowing the Athenians direct access to their ships in times of war.

For the circuit wall of the city, there is evidence that fortification works were undertaken within the decade 430–420 B.C. Thucydides mentions two earthquakes which struck Athens: one in 426 B.C. (3.87.4) and one in 420 B.C. (5.45.4), the first being the most destructive earthquake of the period, with modern researchers estimating an intensity of 7 on the Richter scale.¹⁰⁶ If such estimates are correct, then it would be reasonable to assume that some work rebuilding the walls took place over the following few years in order that the city's defences continued to be strong during the war.

Aristophanes produced his *Knights* at the Lenaia of 424 B.C.,¹⁰⁷ at a period in between the two earthquakes discussed above. There is perhaps an indirect mention in this play to works on the walls planned by Kleon. Through the words of Paphlagon (Kleon), who is confronted by the Sausage Seller, Kleon appears to compare himself to Themistokles, a fact that infuriates the Sausage Seller who says of him: σὺ δ' Ἀθηναίους ἐζήτησας μικροπολίτας ἀποφῆναι διατειχίζων καὶ χρησιμῶδων ὁ Θेमιστοκλεῖ ἀντιφερίζων (*Eq.* 817–818).¹⁰⁸ The participle διατειχίζων¹⁰⁹ seems to be an Aristophanic hint of some fortification project associated with a *diateichisma*, apparently built during Kleon's time.¹¹⁰ So far, archaeological research has not

located or recognized remains of this wall, but the passage in Aristophanes remains valuable evidence.

3 The Kononian fortification (ca. 395–391 B.C.)

The victory of the Spartans in the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.) marked the end of the Athenians' hegemony over the Greek cities. Negotiations for capitulation were followed by the demolition of parts of the Athenian fortification system by the general Lysander and the Spartan army. In his speech *Against Agoratos* (398 B.C.), Lysias says that among the conditions of the peace was the dissolution of the Long Walls over their entire length, as well as the wall that surrounded the Piraeus (13.14). Xenophon, in his *Hellenika* (2.2.23), narrates that the Spartans τὰ τεῖχη κατέσκαπτον ὑπ' αὐλητρίδων πολλῇ προθυμίᾳ, νομίζοντες ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τῇ Ἑλλάδι ἄρχειν τῆς ἐλευθερίας.¹¹¹

In the minds of the Athenians the glory of their city was founded upon its walls, and so those painful moments were recorded by numerous historians and orators.¹¹² The climate of those days is portrayed in a passage of Plutarch where Theramenes, who had advised the Athenians to accept the terms of surrender, received the ire of a new Athenian demagogue, who asked him if he dared to oppose Themistokles (*Vit. Lys.* 14.5): εἰ τολμᾷ τάναντία Θεμιστοκλεῖ πράττειν καὶ λέγειν, παραδιδούς τὰ τεῖχη τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἃ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀκόντων ἐκείνος ἀνέστησεν.¹¹³ A few years later, the reconstruction of the ruined fortifications proved to be Konon's first concern when he returned to Athens triumphant after the sea battle of Knidos in 394 B.C. Indeed, Isocrates associated his name with the restoration of the city's status (5.64): [Ὁ Κόνων] οὐ μόνον δὲ τὰ τεῖχη τῆς πατρίδος ἀνῶρθωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δόξαν προήγαγεν ἔξ ἧσπερ ἐξέπεσεν.¹¹⁴ According to Demosthenes (20.68), the recovery of Athenian hegemony was due to Konon himself, whose most important work was the restoration of the walls (20.72): κάλλιστον δὲ πάντων ἢ τῶν τειχῶν ἀνάστασις.¹¹⁵ Konon had to enlist numerous masons, among them Thebans, who had a long tradition of stonework,¹¹⁶ and the completion of the project required a great deal of funding¹¹⁷: Cornelius Nepos gives the amount at fifty talents (*Konon* 4.4).

According to the testimony of the historian Philochoros (ca.

340–260 B.C.), the restoration began in 395/4 B.C., before the naval battle of Knidos (394 B.C.), with the damaged parts of the Piraeus walls.¹¹⁸ From the secure dating of the building inscriptions *SEG* 19.145 and *IG II²* 1660 to the years 395/4 and 393/2 B.C., respectively, we can conclude that the rebuilding was probably planned, and possibly implemented, even before Konon himself reach Athens in the spring of 393 B.C. The project naturally intensified after the necessary financial resources were secured.¹¹⁹

We do not know the length of this period of fortification works; only Andocides, an eye witness to these events, provides any indication. At the council of the Greeks in Sparta in 392/1 B.C., where discussions were held for the terms of Antalkideios' peace and the end of the Corinthian War was sealed (393 B.C.), the Spartans appeared ready to grant the Athenians the right to restore their walls and to reconstruct their fleet, under the condition that they definitively abandon the idea of sovereignty over the islands of the Aegean. This, however, would seriously have restricted their resources. So, when Andocides, ambassador at Sparta, returned to Athens and supported in the *Ekklesia* the Spartan proposals for the reconstruction of the walls, there were many Athenians who opposed the conclusion of such a treaty, saying that the walls did not ensure their daily bread (Andoc. 3.36): ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τευχῶν οὐκ εἶναι σφίσι τροφήν. This stance ultimately led to his exile. When Andocides delivered this speech, probably in 391 B.C., the Kononian fortifications would still be ongoing.¹²⁰

The destruction of the city's circuit by Lysander, and particularly the reconstruction a few years later of that same wall by Konon, are often treated by scholars as indisputable historical facts.¹²¹ A study of the ancient sources, however, leads to the following question about this period of the Athenian fortifications: did the *peribolos* of the city indeed belong to those parts which were demolished, or was it only the circuit wall of the Piraeus and the Long Walls that were destroyed?

The historians Xenophon, Arrian and Diodorus Siculus clearly state the extent of the destruction of the Piraeus circuit and the Long Walls.¹²² Other ancient writers, such as Andocides, Isocrates, Demosthenes, and Aelius Aristides, often mention the ruined walls of 404 B.C. without specific topographical identifications, since the speaker and historian intended to draw out with such references the ideals of the fatherland, or else they point more generally to the walls of the city or to the walls of the Athenians, without

clarifying precisely where they are talking about.¹²³ As regards the reconstruction of the damaged sections of the fortification, most of the sources refer back to the repair of the walls that had previously been demolished, the Long Walls and the Piraeus *peribolos*.¹²⁴

The five inscriptions (*SEG* 19.145, *IG* II² 1660, *SEG* 32.165, *IG* II² 1661 and *IG* II² 1663) are attributed on the basis of similarities to the series *IG* II² 1656–1664, which relate to repairs of the walls of the Piraeus and not of the *asty* (*SEG* 19.145 and 32.165 are not certainly about the Long Walls and the Piraeus). The find spots of these inscriptions in the Agora and on the Acropolis and its slopes could favour their connection to the reconstruction of the *asty* walls; it is clear, however, that none of these inscriptions of the Kononian period refers directly to these walls.¹²⁵

In conclusion, it is not possible to argue with certainty that, apart from the Long Walls and the *peribolos* of Piraeus, the ancient sources refer to the circuit of the *asty*.¹²⁶ If this is the case, then the Spartan destruction and the fortifications of Konon were limited to the Long Walls and the Piraeus *peribolos*, and we must assume that during the Kononian period the walls of the *asty* were in good condition, at least for the most part, and they must have remained strong when in 357/6 B.C. war broke out between the Athenians and their allies. The unfortunate outcome of this war for the Athenians was followed by the period of Euboulos' leadership, to which we now turn.

4 The fortification under Euboulos (355–346 B.C.)

There are only sporadic hints in our sources to the fortifications during the time of Euboulos. Xenophon, in his essay *Poroi* (355/4 B.C.) discussing his proposals for the reconstruction of the Athenian economy, mentions the need to strengthen the fortifications.¹²⁷ Envisioning the prospect of increased revenue for the state, he hoped to repair the temples, walls and shipyards (6.1): περιουσίας δὲ πολλῆς γενομένης μεγαλοπρεπέστερον μὲν ἔτι ἢ νῦν ἑορτὰς ἄξομεν, ἱερὰ δ' ἐπισκευάσομεν, τείχη δὲ καὶ νεώρια ἀνορθώσομεν.¹²⁸ What can at least be deduced from this is that the walls then were generally in a satisfactory state, albeit with the need for recurrent improvements.

The image reflected in the ancient literary sources for the

fortification work under Euboulos (355–346 B.C.) is somewhat vague. In 349 B.C., Demosthenes questions how it is possible to posit any progress in the internal affairs of the city when major public works are absent and provision is made solely for coating the ramparts with mortar or for the repairing of roads and other trivial projects (3.29): Ἀλλ', ὧ τᾶν, εἰ ταῦτα φαύλως, τὰ γ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει νῦν ἄμεινον ἔχει. καὶ τί ἂν εἰπεῖν τις ἔχοι; Τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἃς κονιῶμεν, καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἃς ἐπισκευάζομεν, καὶ κρήνας καὶ λήρους¹²⁹; Even though Demosthenes' question aims to expose the deficiency in the state's hierarchy of objectives, it does show that the walls are included, at least as far as maintenance works on the ramparts or to the brick superstructure were concerned.

The forensic speeches, particularly those delivered after the fall of Olynthos (348 B.C.), show how throughout that period, when the Macedonian threat to the city had become palpable, the issue of wall repairs proved a serious common preoccupation. Immediately after the ratification of the peace of Philokrates (346 B.C.), Aeschines reminds the Athenians, in his speech *Against Timarchos* (345 B.C.), of their sometimes-unjust derision made at the expense of Timarchos each time he stressed to them the need to repair the walls or the towers (1.80): εἰ γὰρ μνησθείη τειχῶν ἐπισκευῆς ἢ πύργου, ἢ ὡς ἀπήγετό ποι τις, εὐθύς ἐβοᾶτε καὶ ἐγελάτε.¹³⁰

The epigraphic evidence dating to the time of Euboulos reveals a clear focus on increasing the naval power of the Athenians, with works on the shipyards and the arsenal.¹³¹ Today it is believed that, along with Euboulos' efforts to collect money for the Theoric Fund, the prosperity that he secured for the city allowed him to carry out plans for shipbuilding, water provision, and perhaps also for the necessary fortification works.¹³² An indirect reference to repairs of the walls during this period is provided much later by Cornelius Nepos (*Timoth.* 4.1): in 354 B.C., the namesake grandson of Konon was forced to pay the city the amount of ten talents for the repair of a section of the walls as part of the penalty that had been imposed on his father Timotheos. These repairs must have been carried out after the death of Timotheos in 354 B.C.,¹³³ and might have been connected with the ascendancy at that time of Euboulos and his group leading the affairs of Athens.

The provision of the Athenian state to ensure military readiness under Euboulos cannot be consistent with a disregard for the strengthening of fortifications in a period of the increasing

power of Philip II of Macedon. The defeat of the Phoceans alarmed the Athenians to such a degree that in 346 B.C. they proposed that the population of all the surrounding demes should be concentrated within the city, and that the Attic forts and the Piraeus fortification be reconstructed,¹³⁴ evidence provided by Demosthenes in his speech *On the Embassy* (19.125), delivered in 343 B.C. Therefore, regardless of the scope or nature of the repairs, the fortification of the *asty* immediately after Euboulos must have ensured sufficient protection for the residents of Athens.

5 The fortification after the battle of Chaironeia, 338 B.C.

The defeat at Chaironeia in 338 B.C. forced the Athenians into a period of frantic war preparations, as a direct confrontation with the Macedonian army of Philip seemed inevitable. Among the decisions of the Ekklesia was the evacuation of the countryside and the concentration of its inhabitants within the walls of the city.¹³⁵ The existing fortification was considered inadequate in the face of so powerful an opponent. They constructed new walls which were reinforced by a moat (*taphros*), the sloping sides of which were supported by tree trunks, the so-called χαρακώσεις.¹³⁶ The sense of looming emergency can be seen in a passage of Lycurgus' speech *Against Leokrates*, which includes a rallying of the population to rebuild the walls (44): καίτοι κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους οὐκ ἔστιν ἤτις ἡλικία οὐ παρέσχεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὴν τῆς πόλεως σωτηρίαν ... ἐπεμελοῦντο γὰρ οἱ μὲν τῆς τῶν τειχῶν κατασκευῆς, οἱ δὲ τῆς τῶν τάφρων, οἱ δὲ τῆς χαρακώσεως· οὐδεὶς δ' ἦν ἀργὸς τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει.¹³⁷ The Athenians hastened to cut down trees for the construction of palisades,¹³⁸ and even used the funerary *stelai* of their ancestors as building materials, while the temples gave up their dedications so that weapons could be fashioned (Lykourg. 1.44): ἡ μὲν χώρα τὰ δένδρα συνεβάλλετο, οἱ δὲ τετελευτηκότες τὰς θήκας, οἱ δὲ νεῶς τὰ ὄπλα. The fortification under Lykourgos can be compared with the analogous mobilization of the Athenians at the time of the Themistoklean fortification works in 478/9 B.C.

6 The Lykourgan fortifications (337/6 B.C.)

The feared confrontation immediately after the battle of Chaironeia ultimately did not materialize, thanks to Philip's conciliatory peace terms. One year later, in 337/6 B.C., under the guidance of Lykourgos and Demosthenes, the state rushed to make substantial sums available in order to organize a new fortification project.¹³⁹ The main foundation of our knowledge about these works comes from the orations of Aeschines and Demosthenes. In his speech *On the Crown* (330 B.C.), Demosthenes is depicted (18.248) as the head of the administration for the fortification works: ἡ διάταξις τῶν φυλάκων, αἱ τάφροι, τὰ εἰς τὰ τεῖχη χρήματα, represented as actions launched following his own resolutions. The contribution of money from Demosthenes' personal fortune towards the fortification of the city was considered so significant that his friend Ktesiphon proposed that he should be crowned at the Dionysia in public recognition of his patriotic act.

Further information about Demosthenes' role in this fortification project comes from the response raised by Aeschines in his speech *Against Ktesiphon*, a trial of 330 B.C. Demosthenes, as the *teichopoios* (3.14, 3.27, 3.28) of the tribe Pandionis (3.31), had managed an amount of ten talents (3.23) for the section that Pandionis had undertaken to build, and in addition he offered 100 minas of his own money (3.17).¹⁴⁰

These works were certainly not without their controversies and debates surrounding the issue of transparency. One of the arguments put forward by Aeschines against his opponent was the incompatibility of the two roles Demosthenes held when he was proposed for a crown; on the one hand he was superintendent of the construction of the walls and on the other he was serving as a public official, without having previously completed the wall building work nor having yet been held accountable for his management (3.24, 3.27). Aeschines, in the characteristic fashion of the political morals of the age, questioned before the audience (3.236) if it should be deemed right to honour a man for the digging of fortification ditches, the strengthening of walls with wooden fences and the use of tombstones for building materials, for a work which was the collective responsibility of the city and not just of one man.

Among the sources for the wall building of this period is the inscription *IG II³ 429* (Fig. 6). This law details the regulations for repairing the walls at Eetioneia, the rest of Piraeus and the Long

Walls (Il. 1–45), and includes the specifications for the construction of the walls and the restoration of a circular tower in Mounychia (Il. 46–112).¹⁴¹ The most likely date for the inscription is 337 B.C., on the basis of its connection with the extensive fortification works which began within a year of the defeat at Chaironeia.¹⁴² It is apparent from the contents of *IG II³ 429* that the fortification was divided into ten sections, the responsibility for each assigned to a tribe, which then elected an official for its own section. Each part was financed by the state with a sum of ten talents, information furnished by Aeschines (3.23), as we have seen. The work was overseen by the *tamiai* and two *epimeletai*, elected by the Demos.¹⁴³

Fig. 6: Inscription *IG II³ 429*. Piraeus Museum. © Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Ephorate of Antiquities of Piraeus and Islands/ Archaeological Museum of Piraeus.

The organization of the wall reconstruction in 337/6 B.C. indicates an intensification of the whole project, which clearly exceeded the normal pace of fortification works.¹⁴⁴ Although the provisions of the law deal with the Piraeus and the Long Walls, it likely covered also the needs of the fortification of the city.¹⁴⁵ This hypothesis is based on an allusion to some additional works in lines 11–12 of *IG II³ 429*: the phrase ὅπως δ' ἂν καὶ χρήματα εἰς τὰ [... ⁷⁰ ... κατὰ τὸ]ν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον ἐκ τοῦ προτέρου νόμο¹⁴⁶ appears to show that some monies should be provided according to another law, the adoption of which had preceded the current inscription. It would not therefore be unreasonable to assume that the previous law contained a provision relating to the supply of financial resources and the determination to reconstruct the *peribolos* fortification of the city as well. Additional evidence for this possibility is provided by a passage in Demosthenes' speech *On the Crown* (18.300), where he says unequivocally that in the days of the building project, neither the *peribolos* of Piraeus nor that of the *asty* were included: ἐτείχισα τὴν χώραν, οὐχὶ τὸν κύκλον τοῦ Πειραιῶς οὐδὲ τοῦ ἄστεως.

Diodorus Siculus mentions the Athenians' concern for their walls at the time when they sent their representatives to Alexander, immediately after his invasion of Boeotia in 335 B.C. (17.4.6): διόπερ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἐψηφίσαντο κατακομίζειν, τῶν δὲ τειχῶν τὴν ἐνδεχομένην ἐπιμέλειαν

ποιεῖσθαι.¹⁴⁷ The wall reconstruction under Lykourgos is, therefore, assumed to have lasted at least up until then.¹⁴⁸ For the next thirty years after the reconstruction of the Athenian walls in 337/6 B.C., however, Athenian preparations for war focused on the construction of ballistic machinery and their fittings, mentioned in the reports of the overseers of the shipyards, while we lack any information concerning the walls of Athens.¹⁴⁹

7 The fortifications of the period 307–304 B.C.

The declaration of the Lamian War (323–322 B.C.) after the death of Alexander, and its unfavourable outcome for the anti-Macedonian coalition forces, resulted in the capture of Athens and the loss of the city's autonomy. The administration was then taken over by the philosopher and statesman Demetrios of Phaleron, appointed by the Macedonian general Cassander, while hostilities still raged for supremacy in the territories of mainland Greece. In the summer of 307 B.C., Demetrios Poliorketes arrived at Athens with a large fleet in order to put the city under his control, and he was welcomed by the Athenians as a liberator.¹⁵⁰ A broad reconstruction of the fortifications is dated to the period of his rule, which was deemed necessary after a major disaster which befell the walls during an earthquake or perhaps a flood around the end of the 4th century B.C.¹⁵¹ The work was brought to completion by the Athenian state in order to prepare the defence of the city ahead of a reckoning between Demetrios and Cassander, which took place within the Four Years' War (307–304 B.C.).

The most important evidence for this construction phase is given by the inscription *IG II² 463* of 307/6 B.C., which contains a decree of the Ekklesia covering an extensive restoration and strengthening of the walls of the *asty*, the Long Walls, and the walls of Piraeus.¹⁵² According to the inscription, the building of the walls was coordinated by a special committee composed of two architects elected by the Demos and ten citizens, while the whole project was under the supervision of the senior officer of the treasury, the ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει.¹⁵³ Each of the three parts of the wall were divided by the architects into ten sections (perhaps corresponding to the ten tribes that would each undertake a section of the wall), thereby dividing the overall project into thirty

large sections with one or two contractors responsible for each.

The text of the inscription gives detailed information about the form and scale of the repairs, and in some cases refers to the rebuilding of the foundations of parts of the wall and towers. The decree stipulates the contractors' obligations, lists the technical specifications of the work, the timetables of the various jobs,¹⁵⁴ the financing and liabilities, as well as setting penalties for the contractors. The procurement of building materials is undertaken by the contractors themselves and not by the state, except in cases where the wall was completely or partially destroyed during hostilities. The names and amounts paid to each worker, written into the contracts, were filed in the Metroon so that they could be checked by any citizen.

The new fortifications constituted an integral part of the feverish military preparations of Demetrios Poliorketes in the years that he controlled Athens. The armament programme involved buying catapults of various sizes, including stone throwing catapults and others that fired bolts, but also warships.¹⁵⁵ The strong walls of the inscription *IG II² 463* and the general preparations ensured the vigorous defence of the Athenians during the siege of the city by Cassander.

The fortification development at the end of the 4th century B.C. can also be seen in the honorary decrees of the period. Demochares, son of Chares of Leukonoion, who undertook the implementation of the whole fortification programme, was honoured with a decree.¹⁵⁶ Another decree (*IG II² 500*, ll. 9–15) gave honours to the *taxiarchoi*, the commanders of the hoplites of the ten tribes, for their successful protection of the walls during the siege of Cassander in 304 B.C. Moreover, the honorary decree *IG II² 740*, which dates from the end of the 4th or early 3rd century B.C., refers to private contributions towards the repair of one of the towers (ll. 2–3: καὶ πύργ[ον?]Ο|[- -]Α ἐπέδωκεν).¹⁵⁷ This large fortification project ensured the security of the city for at least three decades, until the siege of Antigonos Gonatas during the Chremonidean War (267–263/2 or 262/1 B.C.).

8 The fortification of the 3rd century B.C.: Macedonian fort (295 B.C.) and *diateichisma* (early 3rd century B.C.)

Following the defeat of the Piraeus and the fort at Mounychia in 295/4 B.C., Demetrios Poliorketes returned to the city of Athens. While attempting to overthrow the tyrannical regime of Lachares, Cassander's appointed deputy at Athens, the fortification that he had recently surrounded the city with was so strong 'that even "Poliorketes" himself found it necessary to bring the city to surrender through starvation'.¹⁵⁸ Immediately afterwards he installed a Macedonian garrison in a fort built on top of the Mouseion hill (Philopappos). The construction of this fort is mentioned by Pausanias (1.25.8): Δημήτριος ... ἐσθήγαγεν ἐς αὐτὸ φρουρὰν τὸ ἄστυ, τὸ Μουσεῖον καλούμενον τειχίσας,¹⁵⁹ but also by Plutarch, who says that Demetrios' goal was the effective control of the city in light of a possible rebellion (*Vit. Demetr.* 34.5): ἐπιψηφισθέντων δὲ τούτων ὁ Δημήτριος αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσενέβαλε φρουρὰν εἰς τὸ Μουσεῖον, ὥς μὴ πάλιν ἀναχαιτίσαντα τὸν δῆμον ἀσχολίας αὐτῷ πραγμάτων ἐτέρων παρασχεῖν.¹⁶⁰ There were indeed hostilities against the Macedonian garrison, which led to a successful siege of the Mouseion in 287 B.C.¹⁶¹ King Audoleon, an ally of the Athenians (*IG* II² 654), and the mercenary Strombichos (*IG* II² 666, 667), who had supported the Athenian citizens in that uprising, were honoured with appropriate decrees.

A wall known as the *diateichisma* extends along the ridge of the three western hills (the Mouseion, the Pnyx, and the Nymphs), the remains of which are still visible. This fortification is not preserved in any literary sources; a *diateichisma*, however, is referred to in the building inscription *IG* II² 463 (l. 53) of 307/6 B.C., which we examined above (see p. 36). The inscription states that the *diateichisma* is to be excluded from certain building works planned to take place at the top of the *parodos* encircling the upper part of the walls and their gates (*IG* II² 463.52–53): Καταστεγάσει δὲ κα[ί] τὴν πάροδον [τοῦ κύκλ]ου τοῦ περὶ [τὸ ἄστυ ἄνευ το]ῦ διατειχίσ[μ]α[τ]ος καὶ τοῦ διπύλου τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν πυλῶν.¹⁶²

Where exactly was the *diateichisma* mentioned in this inscription? The subject has been revived after remains of the wall over the western hills were redated on the basis of ceramic finds to a period after this inscription, specifically between 300 and ca. 280 B.C.¹⁶³ For this reason, the wall that functioned as a *diateichisma* at the time of *IG* II² 463 must now be sought at another location, most probably west of the hills of the Mouseion, Pnyx and Nymphs. Such a position may have been occupied by the

western arm of the Themistoklean wall which extended between the two Long Walls,¹⁶⁴ the part that took the form of a *diateichisma* from the second half of the 440s B.C. and later, following the erection of the South Long Wall to the Piraeus around 443/2 B.C.¹⁶⁵

Regardless of what the *diateichisma* mentioned in IG II² 463 actually was, the wall of the western hills was also a *diateichisma*, another wall of partition, and acted as the new western boundary of the city until the end of Antiquity. After the construction of the *diateichisma* above the western ridge, that part of the city, which was from the beginning enclosed within the bounds of the Themistoklean fortification, protecting the residents of the densely populated demes of Koile and Melite, would now remain permanently outside the walls. From the beginning of the 3rd to the beginning of the 2nd century B.C., habitation was interrupted within the area between the original western boundary of Themistokles' defensive walls and the *diateichisma* of the western hills, as is shown by archaeological findings, the area then becoming a cemetery.¹⁶⁶ After the construction of the *diateichisma*, the Long Walls effectively ceased to play a defensive role. Demetrios Poliorketes had put the Piraeus under his full control, which made it unnecessary for the Athenians to maintain a fortified connection of the circuit of the city with the port through the Long Walls.¹⁶⁷

9 The fortification after the Chremonidean War (267–263/2 or 262/1 B.C.)

At the end of the Chremonidean War, Athens bore the intense brunt of the army of Antigonos II Gonatas, son of Demetrios Poliorketes and governor for him in Greece after he set sail for Asia Minor. Until that point, the defensive requirements of the city were guaranteed by the fortifications of the late 4th century along with the addition of the *diateichisma* above the three western hills. Ptolemy II Philadelphos at that time sided with the Athenians, but in 262 B.C. the city surrendered after a long siege and, according to Apollodoros (*FGrHist* 244 F44), a new Macedonian garrison was installed on the hill of the Muses.¹⁶⁸

There is little information in our sources for the history of Athens from the Chremonidean War to the recovery of the city's freedom in 229/8 B.C.¹⁶⁹ It seems, however, that the Macedonian

garrison of Antigonos Gonatas withdrew around 256/5 B.C., and thereafter the city was formally free.¹⁷⁰ It might have been possible, and indeed necessary, at that time to proceed with the reconstruction of damaged parts of the fortifications, although the only evidence we have for the defensive organization of this period is limited to two inscriptions. One is an *epidosis* decree, *IG* II³ 1011, which has been dated to 248/7 B.C.¹⁷¹ It attests to the taking of measures for the safety and salvation of the city (ll. 16–18), possibly under the threat of Alexander, son of Krateros, against attacks from land and sea.¹⁷² This may well be the last time that similar actions were to be financed by the Demos; it would later be undertaken, for specific parts of the wall, by wealthy individuals.

The other piece of epigraphic evidence, *IG* II³ 1160,¹⁷³ is dated around 215 B.C., a few years after the recovery of the city's freedom from Macedonian domination (229/8 B.C.), this time peacefully.¹⁷⁴ It is an honorary decree for Eurykleides of Kephisia, and lines 14 to 16 indicate that [καὶ τὰ τεῖχη τοῦ] ἄστεως καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἐπεσκεύα[σε μετὰ Μικίωνος τοῦ] ἀδελφοῦ.¹⁷⁵ These two political leaders, descendants of noble Athenian families, are honoured by the Athenians for their benefactions to the city, since they contributed to and supervised the repair of the walls of the city and of the Piraeus, and played an important role in the final years of the Macedonian domination of Greece in helping Athens to maintain a neutral policy, as Polybius observes (5.106.6–8).¹⁷⁶

The fortification works of this period provided a sufficiently robust defence, judging from the results of military operations in Athens at the end of the 3rd century B.C., after many years of peace. In 200 B.C., the Athenians declared war against King Philip V and, according to Livy (31.24.9), the Macedonian army launched a failed attempt to invade the city by storming the Dipylon (201/0 B.C.).¹⁷⁷ Later, Philip V channelled his forces - infantry and cavalry - through the passage between the two Long Walls, which stood partly ruined at that time between Piraeus and Athens (31.26.8). From Livy's description, we can conclude that the attack was carried out from the side of the hills that extended west of the city, on top of which stood the *diateichisma*. The unsuccessful attempt of Philip to occupy the walls shows the effectiveness of the fortifications built during the second half of the 3rd century B.C., which may have included those mentioned in the two inscriptions discussed above (*IG* II³ 1011, *IG* II³ 1160).

10 The fortification of the 2nd century B.C.

A large amount of building activity took place in Athens during the 2nd century B.C., including the construction of the Stoa of Eumenes on the south slope of the Acropolis, and the Stoa of Attalos along the east side of the Athenian Agora, both erected by Attalid kings. There is, however, no evidence from the ancient authors about fortifications of this period. Following the conclusion of peace with Philip V in 196 B.C., Athens would enter a period of peace which lasted for almost a century.

Throughout this whole period, Athens was closely connected with the Romans, who from 167 B.C. had become the dominant power in Greece.¹⁷⁸ Nevertheless, there is an inscription (*IG II² 2331*), dated by Merritt to 172/1 B.C.,¹⁷⁹ which demonstrates that the Athenians were still concerned with strengthening their fortifications. The inscription deals with the reconstruction of a fortified tower: ἐπὶ Σωσιγένου ἄρχοντος οἷ[δε τ- - καὶ] τὸν πύργον ἀν[έ]θ[ηκαν] (ll. 1–2).¹⁸⁰ Perhaps the work mentioned in the inscription was part of a formal programme of restoration of the wall or was simply an individual donation by illustrious Athenian citizens. Neither possibility is supported by the written sources, nor can one easily associate this specific inscription with the archaeological evidence for the fortifications at this time. Nevertheless, the participation of Athenian citizens in the execution of public works, such as fortifications, seems to constitute in those years one way to demonstrate patriotic feelings for the city.¹⁸¹

11 The fortification after the invasion of Sulla (87/6 B.C.)

The city of Athens maintained relative autonomy in its internal affairs for a long time, at least until the moment when it broke away from Rome to fight on the side of Mithridates, King of Pontus, during the First Mithridatic War (88–84 B.C.). This act provoked an attack by the Roman general Sulla in 87/6 B.C., a punishment intended to make an example of Athens. As Plutarch reports, Sulla's army destroyed and levelled part of the fortification between the Piraic Gate and the Sacred Gate (*Sulla* 14.3): αὐτὸς δὲ Σύλλας τὸ μεταξύ τῆς Πειραιϊκῆς πύλης καὶ τῆς

ἱερᾶς κατασκάψας καὶ συνομαλύνας, περὶ μέσας νύκτας εἰσήλυνε, φρικώδης ὑπὸ τε σάλπιγξι καὶ κέρasai πολλοῖς.¹⁸² The devastation suffered by the city's buildings was incalculable and, as archaeological investigations have confirmed, spread to other areas of the fortification, not only in the northwest, which received the main thrust of the attack.

The concern of the state for cleaning the city of the rubble from this disaster is indicated by the inscription *IG II² 1035*. Among other decisions, the inscription provides for the trenches of the moat which surrounded the wall: τάφρους πάσας τὰς κύκλῳ τίχ[ο]υ(?)ς (l. 56). However, it is not obvious what exactly the provision for moats entailed, nor if part of a general plan for the restoration of the city was linked to the reconstruction of the damaged walls. There is no agreement among scholars on the dating of the inscription, but the prevailing opinion places it before or during the reign of Augustus and not long after the sack of Sulla.¹⁸³

In the middle of the 1st century B.C., Athens was caught in the theatre of battles between the Roman generals. Her inhabitants were able to defend the city during the siege of Calenus, general of Julius Caesar, in 48 B.C., as described by Cassius Dio; the general vainly tried everything to take Athens, while in Piraeus his efforts were crowned with success and the surrounding areas were looted by the Roman army (42.14.1–2).¹⁸⁴ The impregnable fortifications of Athens at this time suggests the likelihood that some unknown defensive measures had meanwhile contributed to the defensive capabilities of the city. Although we know about donations from Roman officials for restoration work at this point, the ancient sources do not preserve evidence for the works themselves. Plutarch informs us about a gift of fifty talents from Pompey who, on his way back to Italy in 62 B.C., visited Athens following his victory over Mithridates, donating this amount as a token of his favour to the city (*Pomp.* 42.6).¹⁸⁵ Julius Caesar also gave fifty talents to the city in 51 B.C., perhaps also intended for building works.¹⁸⁶

A brief account of the city walls is preserved by Vitruvius, who followed Caesar's army to Athens as an engineer of military machinery in 47 or 46 B.C.¹⁸⁷ In his manual for engineering students, *On Architecture*, looking for characteristic examples of brickwork, he turns his gaze 'first of all to Athens, to the wall facing Hymettos and Penteli' (2.8.9).¹⁸⁸ It is not known why he chose to

highlight this specific example in his study, nor why he pointed particularly to the brick wall at the east and southeast sides of the city. It is certain, however, that he makes no mention of damaged sections of this brick wall.

12 The fortification under the Emperors Valerian (A.D. 253–260) and Gallienus (A.D. 260–268)

For the next 300 years the city of Athens was under Roman rule, and there are no mentions of military operations conducted against it. Furthermore, we have no historical sources for any reconstruction phase of the fortifications. Because of the general security enjoyed by the city under Roman control, it seems that during the Imperial period the fortifications were almost abandoned; moreover, the construction of defensive circuits in provincial towns made the Roman state suspicious, as this was considered an act of rebellion against the central authority.¹⁸⁹

Under Hadrian a new suburb of Athens developed at the southeastern part of the city and in the area around the Olympieion.¹⁹⁰ The fortification extension of the old Themistoklean wall eastward, beyond its former boundaries, has been recognized by several scholars as a Hadrianic work, implemented with a view to including that part of the Roman city that until then had remained unprotected.¹⁹¹ However, the ancient sources do not contain the necessary historical evidence to support such a view. In the text of Pausanias, a great admirer of the Emperor Hadrian, there is not a single reference to the fortifications of his day, while the *Historia Augusta* lists the principal projects of Hadrian only as the temple of Olympian Zeus and the altar of the Emperor (13.6). Homer Thompson had considered it futile to argue for the existence of such walls at the height of the *pax romana*, supporting his position with the *argumentum ex silentio* from the literary and epigraphic sources of any military preparations under Hadrian.¹⁹² Moreover, if this wall was built under Hadrian, it is difficult to interpret the abundant use of older building materials that has been documented in its construction (see pp. 209–211).

Modern studies accept the existence of a fortification phase in the years of Valerian (A.D. 253–260) and his son Gallienus (A.D. 260–268), the first systematic fortification work to take place in the

city of Athens since the invasion of Sulla.¹⁹³ The earliest historical source to support this dating is Zosimos, writing in the late 5th or early 6th century A.D., who states that the Athenians had not concerned themselves at all about the state of their walls from the time of Sulla's destruction (1.29.3): Καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν τοῦ τείχους ἐπεμελοῦντο μηδεμιᾶς, ἐξότε Σύλλας τοῦτο διέφθειρεν, ἄξιωθέντος φροντίδος.¹⁹⁴ The evidence of Zosimos is preserved in the later Syncellus (late 8th or early 9th century A.D.) and Zonaras (late 11th – early 12th century A.D.).¹⁹⁵

The new fortifications seem to have been a necessity in the face of the northern threat from the coming invasion of the Scythians, a danger that Thessaloniki finally escaped in A.D. 254. Most likely the fortification took place under Gallienus. From his biography, contained in the *Historia Augusta*, we learn that immediately after the advance of the Scythians on the Danube and the disasters which they wreaked on Roman soil, Gallienus commissioned the Byzantines Kleodemos and Athenaios to repair and restore the fortifications of the Greek cities threatened by siege (*Gallieni Duo* 13.6). During his reign there also took place a large minting of coinage, the last in the history of the Mint of the ancient Agora of Athens (A.D. 264–267), which was connected, because of the tangible danger from the Scythians and the Heruli, with the urgent need to construct fortifications for the defence of the city.¹⁹⁶ In fact, Gallienus appears to have shown personal interest in the project, as he visited Athens in A.D. 264.

The inscription IG II² 5201 has been connected with the fortification activity under Valerian and Gallienus. The text dates to A.D. 267 and makes reference to a fortified tower which had been in ruins until recently but was then fully repaired: τὸ[ν π]ρὶν ἄκοσμον ἔοντα πύργον, σθένος ἐν πολέμοισιν, νῦν ὄντως πύργωσεν λαμπρὰ χεῖρ ἡγεμονῆος οἴκοθεν εὐφραδέως Παναθη[ν]ίου ἐξόχου ἀνδρῶν.¹⁹⁷ It is possible that the repair concerns an old tower of the Themistoklean circuit or of the *diateichisma*, which would then be incorporated into the Valerian *peribolos*.

With the new Valerian wall the fortification *peribolos* widened considerably to the east side of the Late Roman city, so as to include the unfortified sector from the time of Hadrian. The fortifications of Athens by Valerian or Gallienus, however, were not in the end able to guarantee protection for the Athenians, and they could not hold off the barbarian foray of the Heruli in A.D.

267, an event pivotal to the decline of Athens.

13 The fortification after the invasion of the Heruli (A.D. 267)

The conquering Heruli were expelled by a coordinated resistance of 2,000 Athenian volunteers, who acted under the direction of the archon of the city, the historian Herennius Dexippus.¹⁹⁸ The physical appearance of Athens was completely changed after the invasion of the Heruli, with the majority of buildings in the political and administrative centre totally destroyed, with the possible exception of the Tholos and the Stoa Basileios.¹⁹⁹ In the area of the Athenian Agora, which has been systematically excavated, no building projects were carried out until the end of the 3rd century A.D., with the exception of a new fortification wall.²⁰⁰ When the Athenians were able to rebuild, some fifteen to twenty years after the expulsion of the Heruli, instead of repairing the Valerian *peribolos*, they chose to create a walled area to the north and south sides of the Acropolis by erecting a wall as the last refuge of the population in their hour of danger. The inner wall of Athens from the Late Roman period is known as the Post-Herulian wall, a name given to it by the American excavators of the northern arm of the wall, who uncovered it within the archaeological site of the Agora and dated it after the Herulian invasion.²⁰¹

Archaeological research has brought to light two epigrams whose authors were inspired by the mythological example of Amphion and the construction of the legendary Theban walls. The epigrams date to the 270s and 280s A.D. and possibly reveal that the instigator and leader of the construction of this giant building project was an Illyrian (*IG* II² 5199): Ἀμφ[ίων] μούσαις κιθάρης ἔσ[τησεν] Θήβης | τείχεα· νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἑμᾶς πατ[ρίδος] Ἰλλυριὸς | ἀδύλογον μοῦσαν μεθέπων· [τῷ καὶ] δοκέουσι | ἀκμῆτες ῥέζειν πείρατα π[άντα] τέχνας²⁰² and *IG* II² 5200: οὐ τάδε θελξιμελὴς Ἀμφιονίς ἤρα[ρε] φόρμιγξ | οὐδὲ Κυκλωπεία[ς] χειρὸς] ἔδ[ειψε] βία].²⁰³

The inscriptions are not preserved in their original location and so they cannot provide any value as topographical evidence.²⁰⁴ *IG* II² 5199 was found in the Plaka, in the area of the northeastern part of the wall, near the so-called Gymnasium of Diogenes,²⁰⁵ while *IG* II² 5200 was found in the south tower of the Stoa of

Attalos at the northwest edge of the wall.²⁰⁶ It is believed, however, that they were immured at some conspicuous place, perhaps close to the gates of the wall, so that they could be read by passers-by.²⁰⁷ The thematic similarity of the two epigrams has led to the assumption that the northeast and northwest parts of the wall were built in the 270s or early 280s A.D.,²⁰⁸ when the proconsul of Achaia was Claudius Illyrios, perhaps the principal director of the fortification project.²⁰⁹

14 The Early Christian fortification (4th–5th century A.D.)

It is not easy to detect in the ancient sources the point at which the city began to recover after the Herulian invasion of A.D. 267. The disastrous consequences of the raid on the public and private buildings of the city likely took a long time to be set straight, if we can trust the words of the consul Claudius Mamertinus in his speech before Julian in A.D. 362: 'Ipsae illae bonarum artium magistræ et inventrices Athenæ omnem cultum publice privatimque perdidierant'.²¹⁰

Among the meagre and vague sources of the second half of the 4th century A.D. is one enthusiastic mention of the Panathenaic procession by the sophist Himerios (ca. A.D. 310–390), which appears to have been even in his day the most important celebration in honour of the goddess Athena: ἀρχεται μὲν εὐθύς ἐκ πυλῶν, οἷον ἐκ τινος εὐδίου λιμένος, τῆς ἀναγωγῆς ἡ ναῦς.²¹¹ The procession seems to have set off in the area of the Dipylon and passed between the long stoas flanking the road towards the Agora. We will return to the issue of the character of this gateway in Himerios' time in Chapter 5, when investigating its archaeological traces (see p. 215).

Written sources mention an interest shown in the 4th century A.D. in the building projects of Athens by emperors or officials. Potential candidates for restoration works on the Valerian wall are, among others, the proconsuls of Achaia Cervonius and Phosphorius.²¹² It should be noted that the orator Himerios extolled the proconsul Cervonius as ὀρθόπολιν, 'upholder of the city'.²¹³ A reconstruction of Athens' fortifications has also been considered possible under Julian (A.D. 361–363).²¹⁴ Claudius Mamertinus, in his speech of thanks to Julian, says that he had

taken upon himself, among other benefactions, to build new walls in all the cities of Macedonia, Illyricum and the Peloponnese.²¹⁵ There is, however, no positive reference to Athens.

Another incident which may be worth noting is the great earthquake placed by Zosimos in the year A.D. 375 during the reign of Valens; the earthquake had its epicentre at Gortyn on Crete and has a calculated strength of 8.3 on the Richter scale.²¹⁶ It is unknown whether it caused damage in Athens, nor if that was restored; however, the concern for the fortifications of the cities must have preoccupied the Greeks after the battle of Hadrianopolis in A.D. 378, when the victorious Goths turned menacingly towards the Balkan peninsula.²¹⁷

The inscription *IG II² 5206* mentions restoration works of a ruined fort in the mid-4th century A.D. sponsored by Flavius Septimius Marcellinus: Φλς Σεπτίμιος Μαρκελλεῖνος ὁ λαμπ(ρότατος) καὶ ἀπὸ ἀγωνοθετῶν ἐκ τῶν ιδίων τοὺς πυλῶνας τῇ πόλει. ἀνεκαινίσθη ἡ καταπτωθῆσα [πύλη].²¹⁸ The inscription was seen and copied by many travellers to Athens in the area of the western access to the Acropolis, including Cyriacus, Spon and Wheler, and Chandler.²¹⁹ Despite the find spot of the inscription, it is now believed that the identification of the tower or gateway with the Beulé gate is not secure, pending a study of the gate itself.²²⁰ The dating of the inscription is also uncertain²²¹; it is, however, generally placed in the age of Constantine I or later, while it has also been connected with the repair of the gate during the Athenian preparations to repel the Visigoths under Alaric, who moved threateningly against the Balkan peninsula with his army in the late 4th century A.D.²²²

The threat of invasion by the Visigoths – who arrived at the gates in A.D. 396 – is connected with fortification works of Iamblichos, philosopher and benefactor of the city, who resided permanently in Athens between A.D. 362 and 391. According to an epigram found in the area of the Agora, Iamblichos built a wall with towers and benefited Athens with his wisdom (Il. 2– 5): πύργους τείχεος ἔρκος ἔτευξεν Ἰάμβλιχος ὄλβον ὀπάσας. καὶ σοφίῃ κόσμησεν Ἰάμβλιχος οὗτος Ἀθήνας [καὶ δαπάνῃ] κρατερόν τε[ίχος ἐπ]ῆρε πόλει.²²³

Regardless of how well the Athenians had fortified their city in the late 4th century A.D., Zosimos says that Alaric was convinced that he would conquer it without difficulty, since it was so large its inhabitants would not be able to defend it (5.5.8): ῥᾶστα τὴν πόλιν

οϊόμενος ἐλεῖν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος παρὰ τῶν ἔνδον φυλαχθῆναι οὐ δυναμένην.²²⁴ The same historian tells us that Alaric captured the city without either a fight or causing destruction,²²⁵ a view not shared by scholars.²²⁶ However, the sad picture of the city in the aftermath of Alaric's raid is clearly reflected in a letter of Synesios, the bishop of Cyrene, to his brother, which dates between A.D. 395 and 399 when Synesios is believed to have been in Athens. Athens, writes Synesios, once famous as a place of wise men, was now only known for its honey, adding: οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν αἱ νῦν Ἀθῆναι σεμνὸν ἀλλ' ἢ τὰ κλεινὰ τῶν χωρίων ὀνόματα.²²⁷

15 The Justinianic fortification (A.D. 527–565)

The historian Procopius says in his work *On Buildings* that Justinian renovated the walls of all the Greek cities south of Thermopylae (4.2.23–24): καὶ πόλεις δὲ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπάσας αἵπερ ἐντὸς εἰσι τῶν ἐν Θερμοπύλαις τειχῶν, ἐν τῷ βεβαίῳ κατεστήσατο εἶναι, τοὺς περιβόλους ἀνανεωσάμενος ἅπαντας.²²⁸ He is eager to point out that the emperor ensured that nothing was left unattended or vulnerable (4.2.25–26): ἐπίμαχον δὲ ἢ ἀφύλακτον οὐδὲν εἶασεν. Referring to the design of the fortifications of other cities of the Byzantine empire, Procopius notes that the main concern of Justinian was to increase the height of the walls and to strengthen them with strong towers.²²⁹

In a later passage of Procopius contained in his *The Secret History*, he gives contradictory information, seeming to undermine what he wrote in *On Buildings* about the fortification works in Athens. In this alternative presentation of events, Procopius explicitly states that in Athens not a single public building was restored (*The Secret History* 26.33: ἐν Ἀθήναις αὐταῖς οὔτε τις ἐν δημοσίῳ οἰκοδομία ἀνευέωθη) and that the only provision of the Byzantine empire towards fortifications at this period was the decision of Justinian to send the general Alexander Psalidios with 2,000 soldiers to guard the wall at Thermopylae. It should be noted that *The Secret History* was published after the death of Justinian, and it has been suggested that Procopius then felt he could write free of the standard conventions of the Byzantine historian and the political motives that had restricted him. The inconsistency between the two passages of Procopius allows neither a clear confirmation nor a complete denial of the existence of a Justinianic

fortification project at Athens. Archaeology must here be consulted to shed light on the question through a thorough study and dating of the finds. These archaeological data, and the question of whether they verify the information of our sources, will be discussed in Chapter 4 (p. 217).

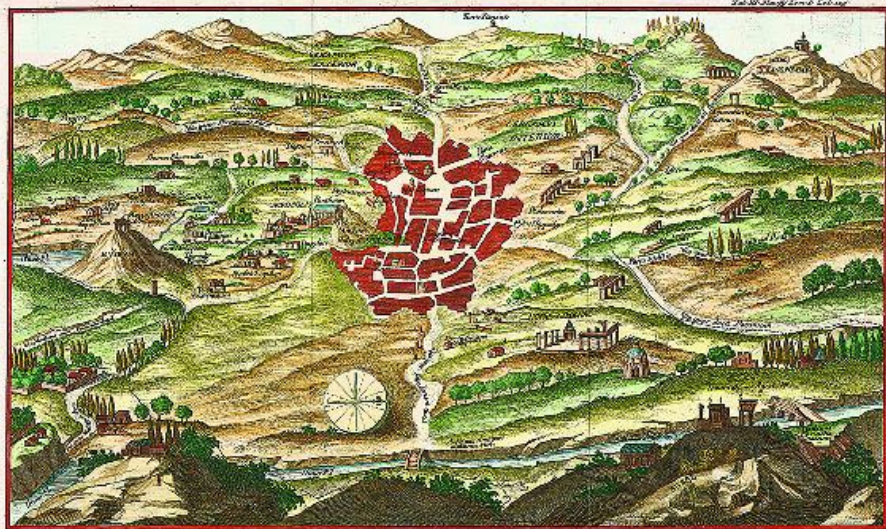
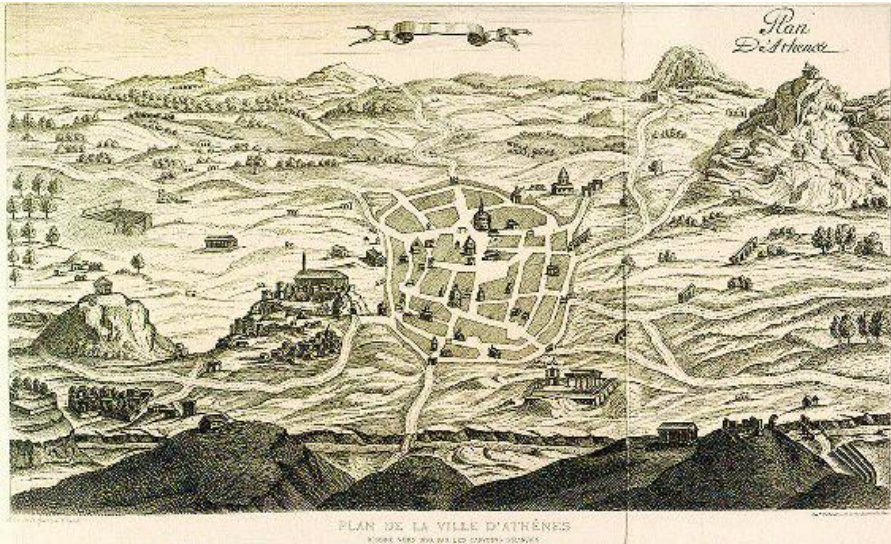
3 Summary

The sources for the fortifications of Athens come from a wide range of genres, from official public life up to the most personal, and even including poetry. The texts of ancient inscriptions contain a wealth of information, from specific construction specifications and works contracts for the walls and estimates of costs or fees paid to builders, to honorary decrees for men whose work contributed to the salvation of the city. The ancient literature contains a series of events played out along the city's history, and offers specific topographical and morphological data and other references to aspects of life which happen to be connected with the walls. Their imposing size shaped an idea which powered moments of patriotic and poetic elation, just as we saw in the *Birds* of Aristophanes or Lucian's *Fisherman*, and even in periods where the walls were in ruins, as with the Pelargikon. The same ideas come into play with the Late Roman interior wall, and we saw how closely connected they were to the legendary heroes who effortlessly constructed their walls, to the accompaniment of sweet melodies.

Searching through the evidence for the fortifications of Athens, we witness crucial historical moments for the development of the city, such as the invasion of Sulla in 87/6 B.C. or the raid of the Heruli in A.D. 267. Although references among the early Christian and Justinianic sources are scant, these too contribute to the history of this monumental landmark of the city of Athens.

The walls of Athens have here been outlined on the basis of literary and epigraphic evidence, shedding sufficient light on them from the early 5th century B.C. up to the late 3rd century A.D., 'perhaps in the most thorough way than any other Greek city', as Maier, who studied the building inscriptions of Greek fortifications, puts it.²³⁰ We are certainly missing much information concerning the reasons behind the construction, the concept of the design, and the conditions for its implementation, or of the rationale of the people of the time and the ethical and social values that the

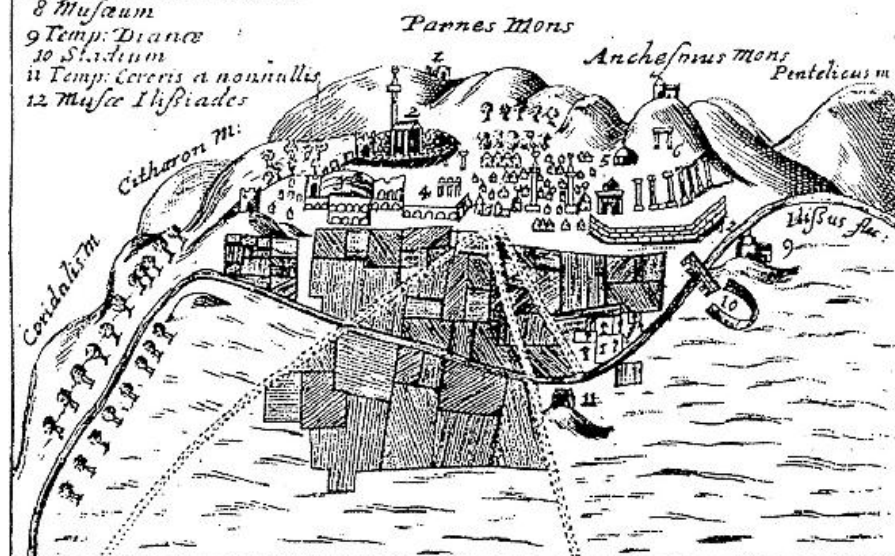
fortifications enshrined, but this is the charm of antiquarian science, to reconstruct from the available evidence as much information as possible. The references of our written sources have led to the hypothesis that safeguarding the defence capability of the walls was a constant concern of the state. In the following chapters, and especially in the fourth, we will examine whether archaeological research can confirm that this was indeed the case, or not, and to what extent for each period of the history of Athens' walls.



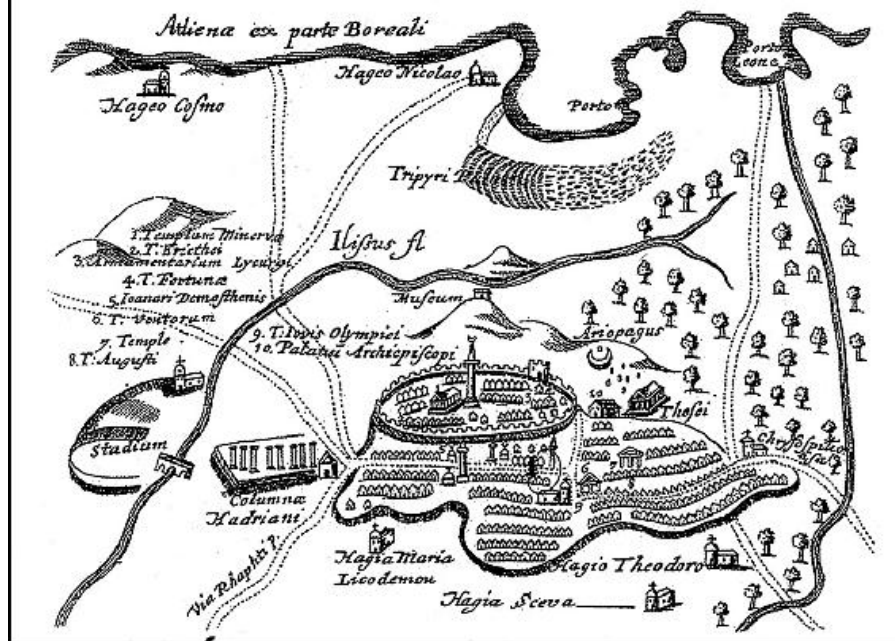
ATHENAE ATTICAE quales hodie existant, cum antiquis suis et admodum quae a Viris eruditissimis propria, eruditione CORNELIIUS iam descriptae, et nunc a TORNIO LAMIO pluribus et locis castigatis et variis FLORENTIAE apud Tarantini et Strachini, anno MDCCXLI.

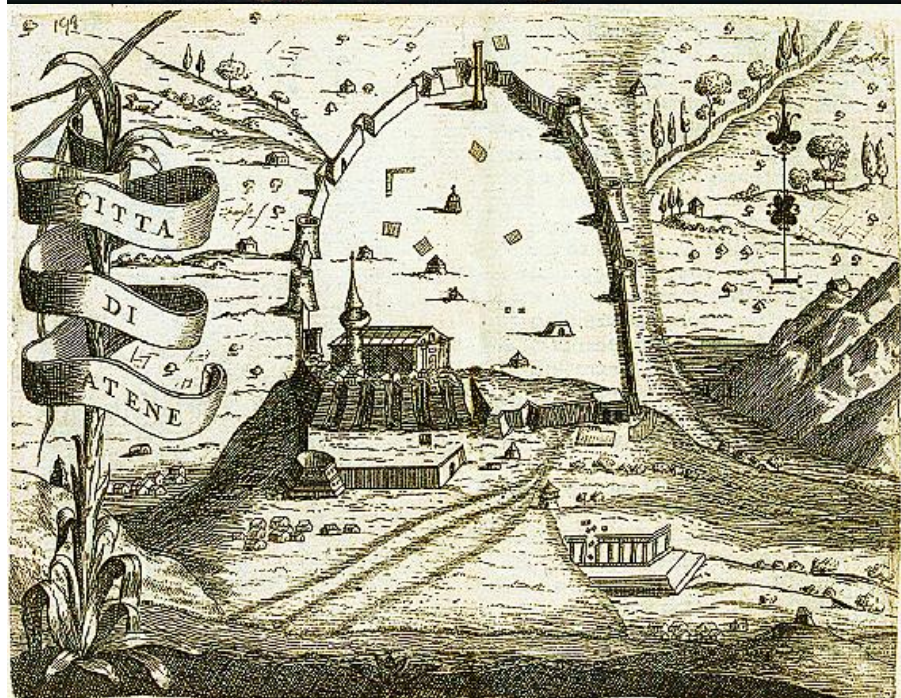
- 1 Biglaca Bro
- 2 Temp. Minerva
- 3 Theatrum Bacchi
- 4 Hag. Maria Spulofa
- 5 Hagia Maria Lyrodemo
- 6 Aqueductus Hadriani
- 8 Musaeum
- 9 Temp. Diane
- 10 Stadium
- 11 Temp. Cereis a nominallis
- 12 Musae Ilysiades

Athena ex parte Marina

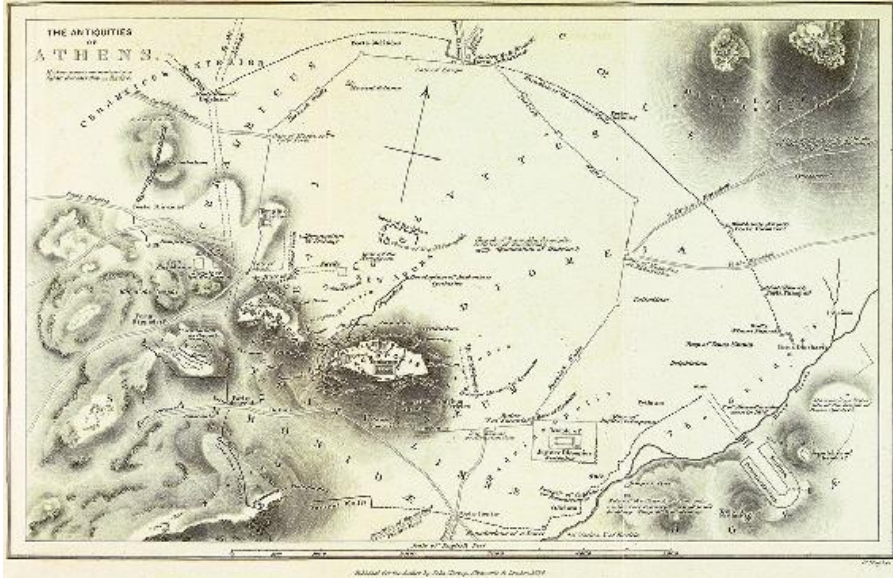


Athena ex parte Boreali









2 Scholars and Travellers in Search of the Walls

*... Athenas veni. Ubi primum ingentia moenia undique conlapsa
antiquitate conspexi*

Cyriacus of Ancona Athens, 7 April 1436

Research into the corpus of ancient literary sources was to

encourage antiquarian interest away from European libraries towards the places where the ancient monuments themselves might be found. Early scholarship on the city of Athens and the field observations of travellers would gradually expose how important the walls were for an understanding of the boundaries of the ancient city. This chapter examines the remarks made by travellers on the ancient walls, which appear much earlier than any systematic archaeological investigation. Since many of the remains of the wall then visible were later to disappear, the information preserved in the travellers' accounts constitutes unique historical documentation, thanks to their thorough observations within Athenian territory.

Before investigating the travellers' accounts of the walls, we must examine the Byzantine testimonia of the 11th and 12th centuries (II. 1) (the latest evidence we had addressed in the preceding chapter dated from the 6th century A.D.), after which there is silence in our sources for around five centuries. We will then look at the publications of the first western travellers who roamed the Mediterranean from the 14th to the 16th century, producing the first images of the monuments of Athens in modern times (II.2). We will then see how a strong scholarly current in the 17th century focusing on studies of the ancient historical sources for the city walls promoted a subsequent shift of travellers turning their attention to the city of Athens itself (II.3). The treatment of the ancient remains by scholars of the 18th and first half of the 19th century is then interwoven with key questions concerning the course of the wall and the number of its gates (II.4, II.5).

Let us turn firstly to the evidence for the walls in the order in which they were recorded by various visitors to Middle Byzantine Athens, as well as by historians of the same period.

1 Middle Byzantine sources of the 11th–12th century

Many western pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land docked at the Piraeus as a stopping point on their long journey; few stayed in Athens itself. One such man was the Icelandic Saeewulf, who visited Athens in 1102/1103. He refers in his diary to the Church of the Virgin Mary which stood high on the rock of the Acropolis where, he writes, 'there always burns an inextinguishable lamp without oil'.¹ The text of Saeewulf, however, does not offer any

further indications of the ancient history or monuments of the city. As for the walls, we must assume that they had long ceased to function as fortifications, and that they had slowly added to the city's piles of antique rubble.

The only relevant evidence of the period is a fragmentary inscribed plaque mentioning the construction of a tower at some point prior to 1069. It was found in the Byzantine church of Agios Dionysios the Areopagite, to the northeast of the Areopagos, and relates to Leon, Bishop of Athens: 'This tower was built by his Holiness Leon, our dear Despot of Athens, and *sygkellos* of the rector'.² It is not clear from the text of the inscription which wall was connected with this tower, whether that of the Acropolis or some other fortification of the city.³

Subsequent references to Athens appear hardly at all in texts of the 12th century. The Arab geographer Edresi presents an idyllic image of the place in 1153 as 'a populous city, surrounded by gardens and fields'. A similar view of Athens as an 'all-blessed country' is given by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Loukas Chrysovergis in 1166.⁴ This reputation, however, would not last for long. Another witness some thirty years later calls into question if not the reliability of these reports then at least the length of time that this untroubled life lasted.⁵ The scholar Metropolitan of Athens Michael Choniates reflected a deep regret in his letters at the disheartening sight of the Athens of his day, calling it 'desolate'.⁶ As to the fortifications, he uses phrases such as 'you see walls that have been stripped of their external stones and others fallen to the ground',⁷ or 'in miserable Athens ... no fortification has been completed',⁸ and 'there are no walls to protect us'.⁹ The significant differences between the two sets of testimonies are surprising and could perhaps be attributed to some unknown attack which may have taken place before Michael Choniates was ordained bishop in 1182, but for which we lack any archaeological evidence.¹⁰

Aside from the question of the condition to which Athens and her walls had been reduced, we might wonder to what Choniates was referring when he mentions the ruin of the walls. There were the so-called '*kastrinoi*'¹¹ who undoubtedly enjoyed, as their name would suggest, special security privileges within the castle; however, researchers have not resolved whether they actually lived inside the fortress of the Acropolis or within the late Roman Post-Herulian wall.¹² But in addition to these two fortifications

there is a further possibility: archaeological investigations into the Byzantine districts that developed between the Valerian and Post-Herulian walls has revealed abundant remains of residential units and production facilities of the 11th and 12th centuries.¹³ The extension of the city at that time therefore leads us to the assumption that Choniates, when talking of vital walls, was referring to the outer Valerian *peribolos*.¹⁴

One other important piece of information on the subject comes from an official document of the Byzantine state, a *Praktikon* of the Athens area, which mentions the *vassilikon teichos* ('royal wall').¹⁵ The document shows that this wall served as a boundary marker of properties at the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century. The manuscript reveals that the 'royal wall' bordered properties located near the churches of the Prodomos (Baptist) (A2.8) and Agia Marina (A2.16), in the neighbourhood of Konchylarion (A2.25), but also in two other unspecified parts of the city's periphery (A2.18, 26). Finally, the *Praktikon* talks of 'ancient buildings' within the district of the 'Upper Gate', perhaps the site of the ancient Dipylon.¹⁶ It should be noted that the 'royal wall' has been identified by scholars of the *Praktikon* with the Valerian wall¹⁷; it is therefore likely that the 'royal wall', whose defensive value was noticeably wanting in the 12th century, should be among the walls which Choniates mentions as being ruined.¹⁸

The historian Niketas Choniates, brother of Michael, recounted the attack on Athens by Leo Sgouros in 1203/1204, and described his assault of the Acropolis walls using siege engines. The Acropolis, however, stood impregnable. The inability of Sgouros to find a way through finally drove him to take revenge by extensively damaging and looting the area around the rock.¹⁹ A short time later, however, in 1204, the Acropolis was unable to repulse the advance of the Franks under Boniface of Montferrat. The condition both of the city and the Athenians themselves was such that a hasty reconstruction of the fortifications was impossible. Michael Choniates was forced to surrender the city without a fight.

From then on, Byzantine historiography is silent on the Athenian fortifications. As we shall see in what follows, evidence for subsequent years is provided almost exclusively by western visitors to Athens, who recorded their observations, encountering the fortifications initially only as obscure monuments of the city, but over time recognising them as notable relics of the past.

2 Evidence from the earliest travellers (14th–16th century)

Athens in the late Middle Ages was for the western world a small town that continued to maintain an echo of its former splendour, albeit in complete obscurity. The perception of a distant but glorious past had imbued the historiography of the Middle Ages with imaginative descriptions and confused information about what remained visible in Athens, regardless of the actual state of the ancient monuments. The first representations of Athenian topography took on legendary dimensions and consisted of purely fictional accounts. Perhaps the oldest reference to the fortification of the city is contained in a Latin text of the 9th century with the title *Passio Sancti Dionysii* or *Areopagitica*: 'This state with powerful walls'.²⁰ The text was based on an alleged letter of the Greek historiographer Aristarchos, in which we are presented with the image of a prosperous and walled city, but the description lacks even the slightest resemblance to the existing remains from the period.²¹

The earliest archaeological interest in Athens appears in travel accounts such as that of the Italian notary Nicolò da Martoni, perhaps the first western visitor, who recorded his testimony at the start of the short-lived Venetian occupation (1395–1403). In late February 1395,²² Martoni, motivated by the sight of many scattered ancient blocks, asked to be guided around the city's antiquities. He then wrote a travelogue about his visit in Latin. The narrative includes both personal observations of this classically educated traveller as well as a selection of local traditions about the ancient remains.²³ Martoni records that he saw many columns and numerous marble blocks lying on the ground,²⁴ but he does not say if the walls of the ancient city could be discerned amidst the piles of rubble. Martoni's description is valuable for its accuracy regarding Athens in the 14th century, but the narrative also contains the information that during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian, the *peribolos* was about twenty-four miles in length.²⁵ We do not know the basis for Martoni's evidence on this matter, nor whether it was from personal assessment, but in any case it remains a noteworthy reference.

Ciriaco de' Pizziccoli, or Cyriacus of Ancona, as he chose to write his name in the final years of his life, is considered the father

of modern Classical archaeology.²⁶ He visited Athens in 1436, around forty years after Martoni, and as a man of the Renaissance he took an entirely new approach to the Classical past. In his writings, he mentions that, as he approached the city, the ancient walls immediately attracted his attention. He stood amazed before their great size, and exclaimed 'Here I saw ... the huge walls, laying in ruins ... and in the city and the fields an unimaginable wealth of marble buildings, temples, houses and all kinds of sculptures of admirable art. And all this within an immense volume of debris'.²⁷ It is most likely that Cyriacus here is talking about the magnificent walls of the Acropolis.²⁸ When recovering ancient inscriptions, however, Cyriacus does mention the walls of the city, in order to determine with some precision the location of the inscribed stones that he found. His interest in the walls can also be seen in his drafting of a plan, although unfortunately only its title has survived, 'the ancient walls of Athens built with large stones'.²⁹

From Cyriacus' topographical references, we can identify the position of four gates of Athens in the 15th century: the western gate, which was probably the gate between the Stoa of Attalos and the Library of Pantainos³⁰; the northern gate, which Bodnar, the foremost scholar of Cyriacus, placed to the east of the Library of Hadrian³¹; the 'gate of new city',³² through which a road perhaps led to the Lysikrates monument; and the 'gate of the castle'³³ leading to the Acropolis itself at the western access to the rock.

Scholars of Cyriacus have assumed that during his walk through the city he followed a route along the Post-Herulian wall, starting from the so-called Beulé gate on the Acropolis and reaching down to the Stoa of Attalos, which was incorporated into the wall.³⁴ He may have walked along a street inside and parallel to the late Roman wall which dates between the 11th and 14th centuries.³⁵ Other archaeological evidence related to Cyriacus' route includes a gateway brought to light by excavations on a section of the Post-Herulian wall. This gateway remains visible today near the fence of the archaeological site of Hadrian's Library, where it forms a continuation of the southern wing to the west (PH5)³⁶. The assertion that this was a passage opened through the bulk of the wall is supported by the upper surface of an orthostate block which juts out of the north side of the wall and bears extensive wear from foot traffic and traces of wheel ruts. This opening is dated on the basis of pottery to the 14th century, and was probably one of the exits of the walled city through which

Cyriacus passed. From this area, he perhaps headed out to the fields, where we know he continued his tour, finding other inscriptions in the area of the Temple of Hephaistos but also further south, on the Areopagos.³⁷

Cyriacus makes an interesting distinction between the wall that astonished him on entering Athens and another, later wall, the '*nova moenia*',³⁸ which he encountered subsequently during his investigations of the city. This wall is believed to be that built under the Franks, called Rizokastro.³⁹ Athens had at that time a wall at the foot of the rock to strengthen the castle defences, as well as the imposing fortress of the Acropolis above. Archaeological research has dated this Rizokastro late in the first half of the 13th century A.D.,⁴⁰ during a period where the lords of the city were the French dukes of Athens, the de la Roche family (1205–1308).

Alternatively, we might conjecture that Cyriacus' '*nova moenia*' refers to the Post-Herulian wall, as Bodnar had proposed,⁴¹ or better still this same *peribolos* in its Florentine phase or Catalan reconstruction, suggested by Setton.⁴² According to archaeological investigations in the area north of the Peripatos, the Post-Herulian wall was still in operation when the Rizokastro was built, and indeed it is probable that on the north side of the Acropolis parts of the late Roman *peribolos* were repaired at the same time that the Rizokastro was constructed.⁴³ On the south side of the Acropolis, the two fortifications, the Post-Herulian wall and the Rizokastro, were built along the line of the north wall of the Stoa of Eumenes.⁴⁴

A few years after Cyriacus' visit, another short but methodical catalogue of ancient buildings was written in Greek around 1460 by the 'Vienna Anonymous'. It carries the title *The Theatres and Schools of Athens*. The author of the treatise mixes many mythical elements in his description of the walls. Before turning to make his ascent to the Acropolis, he prepares the reader by relating the story of the fortification works of Kekrops, founder of the ancient city: 'He raised the walls, paved the ground with different marbles, gilded the temples inside and out, and called the city Athens'.⁴⁵

The most important description of the ancient remains of Athens from this period, however, belongs to the Venetian Urbano Bolzanio and dates between 1475 and 1485.⁴⁶ At the beginning of his narrative, Bolzanio refers to the topography of the modern city: 'the houses are located in the north, towards the side of the plain,

where the fortified area stretches. But there are other houses on the right towards the side of the sea, and a few more on the east side; in short, almost the entire hill is surrounded by houses'.⁴⁷ The remains of the ancient wall particularly attracted Bolzanio's attention: 'many monuments of ancient Athens are preserved, found within the recently fortified city and outside of it. The ancient walls are all ruined, but their remains can be seen along the entire length of the *peribolos*; they are massive walls made from rectangular blocks, some of which are so large that even four pairs of oxen could not draw them. The fortified *peribolos* of the city is greater than that of Padua, while most of the [ancient] buildings are located within the ancient walls'.⁴⁸ We can hypothesize that Bolzanio's 'recently fortified city' is another reference to the same 'new' wall mentioned by Cyriacus three or four decades earlier.⁴⁹

Travel accounts of the second half of the 16th century contain other extensive descriptions of Athens, often including brief references to the ancient fortifications. One such testimony comes from the verse travelogue of the Italian humanist scholar Hugo Favolio, *Hodoeporici Byzantini*, written in Latin and published in 1563: 'The city, which was once famous for its walls, its agora, ship sheds and its military armament, rich in strength and in men, now lies destroyed in ruins'.⁵⁰ Through the examination of written sources, Favolio had idealized the ancient city, and appears frustrated by the bleak picture confronting him. He even mentions that the inhabitants now call Athens 'Sethina'.⁵¹ In terms of the fortification, he notes that there is no point in the city where either the surrounding walls or a moat can be seen.⁵²

The same impression of the city and its fortifications is given by Jean Carlier de Pinon, who was forced by severe weather to anchor at Sounion when returning from the Holy Land in 1579. He did not imagine that it would be worth visiting Athens; in his diary, he notes: 'there are indeed some antiquities visible, but most of them are ruined, as is the city itself, which looks like a large village and is surrounded neither by walls nor by a moat'.⁵³ We get quite a different judgement than that of Bolzanio, Favolio and Pinon from the German pharmacist Reinhold Lubenau, who took part in a Turkish mission inspecting the ports of the Mediterranean in 1588 or 1589. In his memoir of Athens, he reports that he toured the city, which was surrounded by its strong walls.⁵⁴

There are fragmentary and confused references in the travel

narratives of the 16th century that either present the fortification as totally non-existent or, conversely, as extremely strong, and it is not always clear whether the observations are directed at the ancient or the new city walls. On the one hand, the idea had prevailed for some time in the west that the monuments of the Classical past were completely destroyed, while a predetermined image of the city had also been formed, with many travellers holding very close to the legendary tradition of the Middle Ages that wanted the old glorious cities like Athens to have majestic monuments and, of course, strong fortifications. It was very widespread, moreover, during this period to depict the cities of Europe – Athens among them – with fantastical fortifications.⁵⁵ In any case, the issue of the walls remained an active debate.

Following the development of literature and art, which imbued the Renaissance with the spirit of Classical antiquity, European scholars turned their attention to the place where those arts had flourished, the ancient city of Athens. The German Hellenist Martin Kraus, wanting to learn about the actual state of the city and its monuments, corresponded with Greeks established in Istanbul. The question that he put to Theodosios Zygomalas in 1573 was⁵⁶: 'German historians write that Athens is completely destroyed, that in its place are a few fishermen's huts; is there some truth in this claim?'⁵⁷

Among the letters published by Kraus in his book *Turkograeciae Libri Octo* is one from Kavasila, dated 1578, which contains *inter alia* a reference to an old threefold division of the city: 'Long ago the city of Athens was divided into three, and all were inhabited. But now, the inner part (that is the Acropolis: on which is a temple to an unknown god) is all inhabited solely by Ishmaelites. The outer part (I mean the intermediate) is all [inhabited by] Christians. The outer third part (in which are palaces made of marbles and great columns; a single line is written on the gate of one of them, and is preserved: 'This is Athens, the former city of Theseus') is inhabited. The whole inhabited area (... men, numbering twelve thousand) is within six or seven miles'.⁵⁸

Kavasila's reference to a tripartite division (*triplokon*) has given rise to a discussion about how the residential zones of the city were arranged at that time, and their relationship to the ancient fortifications.⁵⁹ The first division, the interior, is believed to be within the walls of the Acropolis, in which only the Turks lived. The intermediate must be within the Post-Herulian wall or the

Rizokastro, protecting the Christian settlement around the rock. The outer division may refer to the line of the Valerian wall, given that the text links the Arch of Hadrian with this outer boundary. Since the third outer division of the city was used as topographic reference for determining the allocation of part of the population, at least as it was in the time of Kavasila, the physical condition of the Valerian wall, at least in some parts, must have made it somehow quite distinct along its course, as Bolzanio also noted.

European travellers in the 16th century did not show any great zeal for visiting Athens, although a few did make it to the city. The earliest appearances of British travellers were usually brief stops on the long journey to the Holy Land, and were quite uniform, especially after the establishment of commercial enterprises in Ottoman lands, such as the Levant Company in Smyrna in 1581. The west's attention was still focused towards the great visible monuments of Rome, not Athens.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the general situation in Ottoman-occupied Greece did not favour any deep involvement with the antiquities of Athens.⁶¹ It is telling that Cyriacus himself visited Athens only in the twenty-fourth year of his travels.⁶² We can observe that, despite the intense fascination for Greek Antiquity, travelling in Greece was rare. Scholars of the epoch, to whom we will turn in the next section, were content to concentrate only on the ancient texts. Knowledge of the ancient world was not interwoven with travel; on the contrary, these scholars preferred to view Antiquity from a distance. As Stoneman writes: 'Clearly the written word was still paramount in antiquarian studies ... Antiquities could be admired, copied, even stolen; but to study them was sacrilege against the written word'.⁶³ Let us, however, now follow the intellectual wanderings of these scholars on the Athenian walls, as they searched through the ancient testimonia.

3 Scholars and travellers of the 17th century

In the early 17th century, western antiquarian researchers turned their attention to the topography of ancient Athens and particularly to the city walls. Their aim was to collect together all the relevant literary sources, a pursuit that would soon lead to systematic academic investigations. This antiquarian search revolved around two main themes: one was an assessment of the limits and size of the ancient city, and the other focused on the

names of the gates along the ancient wall. The three most important scholars working on these questions in the 17th century were the Dutchman Jan de Meurs (or Johannes Meursius), and the Englishmen Francis Rous and John Potter. Although they never actually visited Athens, their contributions to the study of ancient Athenian topography were to prove pivotal.

Meurs' scholarly work constitutes the first gleaning of topographical information on the fortification of ancient Athens. His collection of ancient sources is divided into chapters following the narrative of Pausanias, and gives the relevant passages for each stop on the Periegete's journey. His first book, *Atticarum Lectionum* of 1617, pulled together the names of ten gates from the written sources (Acharnian, Diochares, Diomeian, Eriai, Thraciai, Thriasiai or Dipylon, Hippades, Kerameikos gate, Melitides and Piraic) and concluded with the phrase '*Habes ecce portas decem*', 'behold the ten gates'.⁶⁴

In his next book, *Athenae Atticae*, Meurs devoted two chapters to the Athenian walls and their gates.⁶⁵ He based his work on further relevant passages culled from ancient literature and revised the number and names of the gates. The thirteen gates enumerated by Meurs, which would serve as an indispensable guide to travellers for more than a century, were as follows: Aigeos, Acharnian, Diochares, Diomeian, Eriai, Thraciai, Thriasiai or Dipylon or Kerameikos gate, Sacred, Hippades, Itonian, Melitides, Piraic, Skaiai.⁶⁶ Meurs' volumes served as reference works for later scholars for two and a half centuries, particularly on the issue of the gates.⁶⁷

The Oxford scholar Francis Rous sought in his book *Archaeologiae Atticae libri septem*, published in 1637, to build a more accurate picture of the ancient fortification, which provided an incentive for an even more detailed study of the sources. In his opinion, the number of ten gates was too few for 'such a vast city',⁶⁸ and he proposed instead twelve names for the ancient gates, attempting to appear more comprehensive than Meurs: Dipylon or Thriasiai, Piraic, Hippades, Sacred, Eriai, Aigeos, Melitides, Kerameikos gate, Diochares, Acharnian, Diomeian, Thraciai.⁶⁹ He hastened to convey the information from the traveller Favolio that 'The Walls that environ this [the Acropolis] are none now'.⁷⁰

A notable classification of the ancient gates was also proposed by John Potter in his book *Archaeologia Graeca, or the Antiquities of*

Greece, first published in 1697–1698. Potter enumerated thirteen gates: Thriasiai or Dipylon or Kerameikos gate, Piraic, Hippades, Eriai, Sacred, Aigeos, Diochares, Acharnian, Diomeian, Thraciai, Itonian, Skaiai and Hadrian's.⁷¹ He acknowledged, as had Meurs in his second book, that the gates of the Kerameikos are the same as the Thriasiai and Dipylon gates. Potter also removed from his catalogue the Melitides gates of Meurs and Rous, and reintroduced to the discussion the Skaiai gates from Meurs' second book. He added the Arch of Hadrian as a new gate in the walls, launching a misunderstanding which would result in a series of topographic errors by later travellers concerning its identity as a gate in the city wall.

As well as scholarly endeavours in the 17th century, the appearance of travellers in Attica itself proved crucial. The first decades of the century saw visits limited to the few travellers who docked at Piraeus and journeyed to Athens for short stays. Their diaries typically contain brief comments on the ancient monuments. As an example, François Arnaud, who wrote a travelogue in 1602, refers to the Arch of Hadrian with the following simple phrase: 'Near to this palace [the Temple of Olympian Zeus] one sees a very ancient gate'.⁷²

Around the middle of the 17th century the picture begins to change. The traveller Nicolas du Loir decided to record his journey from Istanbul to Venice in detail while escorting the Venetian ambassador Pietro Foscarini. In a letter written on 13th June 1641 to Abbot Menage,⁷³ he takes us on a stroll through the streets of Athens with Pausanias in hand. He appears sceptical towards the local traditions that had survived concerning the antiquities and preferred to record the true picture of the ruins: 'Today there are only vestiges of it in some places, and no more of the walls of the city's fortification, which are said to have been six or seven miles in length'.⁷⁴ We see here the beginnings of an archaeological interest in the extent of the Athenian fortification, a theme destined to occupy several generations of researchers.

Admiration for the ancient world gradually grew in the texts of western scholars. During the second half of the 17th century the great impact of these books would advance the curiosity for field research into the monuments of Athens. The first admirers of antiquity came with an ardent desire to equate the preserved names with the physical remains. They came equipped with the passages of ancient authors which Meurs had included in his

books, and also with Pausanias, their constant companion. French monks of the Capuchin Order had been installed at Athens since 1658 in a building that incorporated the choregic monument of Lysikrates, at the junction of modern Vyronos and Shelley Streets in the Plaka. They had the opportunity to study ancient Athenian topography at close quarters, receiving a wave of travellers and giving out a great many copies of an invaluable aid: a map they had produced of the antiquities and monuments of Athens (Fig. 7).

Fig. 7: Map of Athens drawn by the French Capuchin monks (1670); it was used as a guide by the Western travellers of the 17th century who came to visit the monuments of Antiquity, the churches and the newer buildings of the city. Laborde (1854) I, 78.

The Capuchin map was a strange mixture of plans and views, a sort of panorama of the city captured from the banks of the Ilissos. The city is rendered with its monuments, churches and principal buildings without any explanatory archaeological or architectural notes or interpretive fictions. The fortification wall does not appear on the map, but the introductory material accompanying the work includes the old assessment of Favolio about Athens: 'The city which has neither walls nor fortress'.⁷⁵ Despite its shortcomings in terms of its representation of the natural topography and the conventional forms used to represent the ancient monuments and churches, the map was the first projection of the value of the Athenian monuments, and provided the foundation for subsequent depictions (Fig. 8). The history of ancient Athens had in fact begun to emerge in parallel with the first cartographic representations of its monuments.

Fig. 8: Coloured copper engraving showing the ancient and modern city of Athens; it is part of the tradition of maps based on that of the Capuchin monks (see Fig. 7). Published in 1741 in a reissue of Meursius' *Athenae Atticae* [1st ed. 1624], it is a copy of the map of Athens by the Venetian cosmographer Vincenzo Coronelli (1689), with the addition of new names for the sites and monuments of the city. Soukakos (2012) 55.

A particularly favourable climate for investigating Athens' antiquities was created in Paris ahead of the journey of the Marquis de Nointel, French ambassador of Louis XIV to the Ottoman Porte, that took place in 1674. As part of this preparation,

the French Jesuit monk Jacques-Paul Babin (or père Babin) visited Athens between the years 1669–1671 and wrote a travel narrative about the city's monuments in close collaboration with the Capuchin monks.⁷⁶

Babin produced a map showing the monuments of the modern city, inserting some elements of fantasy (Fig. 9). Nonetheless, the book that he published in 1674 was the most comprehensive treatise that had yet been written on the topography of Athens. Babin, knowing Meurs' *Athenae Atticae*, perhaps expected to find an ancient gate that could be connected with one of the names included in that work: 'I thought at first that it [the propylon of the Library of Hadrian] was a gate of the ancient city of Athens and a remnant of her ancient and magnificent walls, but no trace is to be found anywhere, as now this city resembles a large village'.⁷⁷ Babin further reported that 'One can enter the city without passing through any gate, although I have noticed two or three which are never closed, the city having no walls'.⁷⁸

Fig. 9: The map of Athens by the French monk Babin depicting the ancient ruins with some imagined elements (1669–1671). It was published as part of the travel preparations of the Marquis de Nointel (1674). The residential area of the city extends behind the rock of the Acropolis. Babin (1674).

In 1675, the French antiquarian André-Georges Guillet (or Guillet de Saint-Georges) dealt with certain themes of ancient topography in his book *Athènes ancienne et nouvelle*.⁷⁹ His narrative offers the reader an engaging tour of the monuments of the city, and a much more detailed one than any previous account, despite the fact that Guillet himself never visited Athens.⁸⁰ He has the following to say about the wall: 'There are only a few sections of the walls, each about a *toise* or two,⁸¹ attached to the gates of the city, which are in a pitiable state, and far removed from their ancient magnificence, with a single exception about which I will tell you presently'.⁸² Guillet here means the propylon of the Library of Hadrian, which he took to be the Dipylon gate. We should note that Guillet's interest in the walls was principally linked with the question of the existence of fortifications in the modern city of Athens, which had provoked intense debate within the intellectual circles of the time, as we will shortly discover.

The map that accompanied Guillet's book was a copy of the

Capuchin plan. One innovation, however, was that Guillet was the first publisher of travel literature to identify the positions of the ancient gates on a map, recording their names: Piraic, Aigeos, Diomeian, Eriai, Diochares, Itonian, Melitides, Acharnian, Hippades, Dipylon or Kerameikos gate, and the Sacred gate.⁸³ His method for determining the positions of these eleven gates was to reconcile the exit points of the road system with one of the known ancient names; the remaining gate names he assigned to positions between those axes.

References to the ancient gates of the wall are scattered throughout Guillet's book. Let us examine some excerpts from his narrative: 'He [the guide] led us to the Dipylon Gate, which is the only one left from the ancient city. It has three successive doors, large, well-founded, curiously worked, and which deserve to be placed among the most celebrated antiquities of Athens.⁸⁴ ... We passed by a place where there was an ancient gate which they called the Hyppades gate, or the gate of the horses, because on this Kolonos Hippios could be found many horses for hire.⁸⁵ ... The ancient Piraic gate is two muskets' range away from that [gate] of today.⁸⁶ ... The ancient gate of Diomea was at the foot of the Kynosarges Hill.⁸⁷ ... On descending from Kynosarges by the place on the hill where the tombs of the ancients were, one finds on the decline the site of the ancient Eriai gate, or the gate of the tombs.⁸⁸ ... We passed between the hill of the castle and that of the Arch of Trajan [the Philopappos monument]. ... The fountain of Panopis was there; which today has dried up; and the ancient Diochares Gate is not far away. We left this place on our right as well as the Areopagos, and the Ithonia gate'.⁸⁹ Guillet's enthusiasm was such that he identified sections of the mud-brick walls preserved, which Vitruvius had reported: 'we see some remains of an ancient brick wall, of which Vitruvius has spoken. It looks, as he said, towards Mount Hymettos, which is near the Hill of St. George'.⁹⁰ Guillet's efforts without doubt deserve to be praised regardless of any failings in his identifications; thanks to his vivid descriptions the book was widely distributed in the west and enjoyed by admirers of ancient Athens perhaps as no other of its kind.⁹¹

We owe the first systematic recording of the antiquities of Athens to the fellow travellers Jacob Spon and George Wheler. Spon, a doctor with antiquarian knowledge, used the ancient authors as his guides for his studies of sites in Athens between

1675 and 1676,⁹² as well as the works of Cyriacus of Ancona, the plan of the Capuchins with the monuments of Athens, and Guillet's recently published book, which he took care to bring along with him before setting off for Greece.⁹³ In his book *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant*, Spon writes that he found the ancient monuments of Athens in a ruinous condition. Before climbing the Acropolis, he saw the remains of a newer wall: 'at the foot of the hill, the foundations of another wall, which surrounded it almost entirely, was distinctly visible, and rendered it more difficult to access'.⁹⁴ The remains of the wall (the so-called medieval Rizokastro) at the foot of the rock were so massive that it would have been unthinkable for Spon not to report them.

At this period, the identification of ancient remains must have proven an extremely difficult task for travellers. Approaching the monuments of antiquity, Spon wanted to avoid any kind of theoretical descriptions based exclusively on ancient sources, as Guillet had done, but rather he adopted a new perspective, about which he was clear: 'do not be surprised that I have not described a greater number of antiquities, of a city in which it seems there ought to be more to say. ... It is enough for me to describe what remains in their entirety, such as the beautiful temples of Minerva and Theseus, but also the other precious antiquities of which only ruins remain: without wanting to make you believe more than there is'.⁹⁵ It is clear that Spon was not able to identify any significant remains of the ancient wall. This could explain why he abstained from any field observations about the gates, a popular theme that Guillet had recently introduced to the antiquarian public in the west.

The incorrect identifications of Guillet immediately came to the attention of Spon. He was not convinced, for example, of the identification of the Dipylon, which Guillet had proposed with such enthusiasm at the Library of Hadrian. Spon was very careful in his identifications, but it was practically impossible not to be guilty of such errors, such as when he equated the impressive remains of Hadrian's Library with the Olympieion, possibly influenced by the testimony of Pausanias about the great size of the temple.⁹⁶

Spon's map of Athens also fits into the tradition of the Capuchin type, to which he introduced a key innovation concerning the fortification. Although Spon chose not to mark the positions of any gates based on the known names, he did indicate traces along the hypothetical course of the wall, with points drawn

onto the map where he came across them. As well as reproducing a typical representation of an enceinte, as was common with mapping of the time, a second fortification is indicated by a dotted line and described as 'No. 49: Fortification *peribolos* of the ancient city or *asty*, as it is correctly called' (Fig. 10).

Fig. 10: The French doctor Jacob Spon sought to depict the actual state of the ruins of the ancient city of Athens (1678). Dotted lines represent parts of the course of the ancient wall (see no. 49). Spon/Wheler (1724) II.

Spon's depiction of a walled city of Athens caused intense controversy with Guillet, in which the archaeologically interested French public actively participated.⁹⁷ Spon was accused by Guillet of never having seen the city up close, which led to the depiction of a fictitious fortification. He charged him that 'he shows us New Athens with a walled enclosure, although it is always an open place. ... You see here this enclosure of walls, marked with large dashes, forming round and square towers, with curtain walls included in their intervals. And it is so well affirmed this distinction of large dashes, that you see in this plan the old enclosure of the city marked by simple dots, to contrast it to the current circuit of New Athens. ... If, in wartime, it was thought proper to send such an engineer to form the plan of the frontier boundaries, would we not have obtained great assistance?'.⁹⁸ Whether or not Athens was a walled city emerged as a major topic of controversy among scholars of the time.

The travel narratives published by Jacob Spon and the English naturalist George Wheler were to remain famous for at least a century. After Spon's death, Wheler published his own personal narrative of Athens in 1682, *A Journey into Greece*, which contains a brief description of the then visible fortifications. Wheler mentions three fortified *periboloi*, the oldest up on the Acropolis, the second two hundred steps below, implying the Rizokastro, which he found almost demolished and associated it with the era of Theseus, and a third, about which he noted 'And it may be demonstrated both by the Monuments of Antiquity yet remaining, and out of History, that Athens had yet a far greater Wall, than either of these, including this second Wall, and encompassing the whole City; spread out far and wide above it'.⁹⁹ Within these three fortifications lurks the reflection of an earlier conviction about

Athens' fortification, since, as we have seen, the tripartite distinction (the *triplokou*) was mentioned also in Kavasila's letter of 1578.¹⁰⁰

The archaeological identification of monuments from the ancient sources was not Wheler's principal concern. The two maps of Athens he published contain schematic representations of buildings: *Athens ex parte Marina* does not include a depiction of the ancient wall (Fig. 11), while the map titled *Athens ex parte Boreali* shows a circular fortification wall enclosing the rock of the Acropolis, and another with a curvilinear course around the northern and western residential areas (Fig. 12).

Fig. 11: View of Athens from the sea in a plan of the English traveller George Wheler (1682) 338.

Fig. 12: View of Athens from the north in a plan of the English traveller George Wheler (1682) 340.

Edward Daniel Clarke would later note, not unfairly, that the Guillet map was much more informative than those of Wheler.¹⁰¹ However, we do learn from Wheler that, in the Athens of his day, the gates at the ends of the narrow streets of the city were closed at night, and that protection from pirates was ensured by the way in which the Athenians had built their houses, with each one very close to the next.¹⁰²

In the last quarter of the 17th century, two monks of the Capuchin order, père Barnabé and père Simon de Compiègne, arrived at Athens in order to form their own opinions of the monuments. In their letters, probably with Guillet as the final recipient, they too mention the ancient walls. In his letter of September 14, 1678, Barnabé remarked that 'around every gate that survives in Athens we see some small parts of walls, but all the rest is open, which is the reason why one can enter and leave when one wishes'.¹⁰³ From the description it appears that the gates joined together with the existing parts of the walls, forming small, scattered but distinct sections of ruins, and that the city fortifications in the 17th century were in actuality non-existent. Barnabé moreover confirmed 'that which resembles some other part of the enclosure is nothing but the wall of the houses at the edge of the city'.¹⁰⁴

In the second letter, of September 20, 1678, Simon de

Compiègne informed Guillet that there were four preserved gates of Athens. He also identified their positions in relation to the existing entrances to the city: 'The first is on the side of the castle. The second leads to the road of the Kerameikos and leaves the Bazaar on the right hand. The third, towards the palace of Hadrian [in fact the Olympieion], ends at the Lantern of Demosthenes [the Lysikrates monument] where our house is,¹⁰⁵ and the fourth which is on the way to Penteli. All four of them have openings around twelve *toises*, and the rest of the town is open, without any walls, and you enter it from anywhere, as you wish'.¹⁰⁶

The two letters condense into a few lines the state of Athens' fortifications in the 17th century. Barnabé's assurance that there was a lack of any systematic fortification and that the old walls were in ruins is confirmed by the magnificent oil painting of 1674 attributed to the painter Jacques Carrey. The picture captures the splendid first procession into the city by the Marquis de Nointel, ambassador of Louis XIV to the Sublime Porte, together with an entourage of scholars and officials to the sound of cannon and drums (Fig. 13). Looking at the picture, we see the same impression at the outskirts of the city: a sort of enclosure formed by the perimeter walls of the houses 'especially when seen from afar, and masked by perspective'.¹⁰⁷

Fig. 13: Oil on canvas, 5.20 x 2.60 m, by Jacques Carrey (1674). The city of Athens and the Acropolis with its walls are depicted during the visit of the French Marquis de Nointel along with his entourage, only thirteen years before the bombardment of the Acropolis by Morosini in 1687. Permanent loan from the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Chartres to the Museum of the City of Athens. Photo courtesy Museum of the City of Athens / Foundation Vouros – Eutaxias.

As for the question of the gates, Bernard Randolph, who travelled to Athens in the period between 1671–1679, provides the following information¹⁰⁸: 'The city is not walled about, but has Gates at the Streets end, which every Night are shut, to keep out Privateers, who often Land and do much mischief'.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps the gates of 17th century Athens coincided with the remains of the gates of the old medieval fortifications, and were closed especially in times of organized piratical raids.

Another relevant witness among the milieu of the Marquis de

Nointel was Cornelio Magni, who may be represented in Carrey's oil painting¹¹⁰: 'I have the opinion that one can, without an intense pace, make a circuit of the entire city within an hour or more, which means that the path is more than three miles. The city is served by five or six gates, of which I did not however want to examine in detail, because, since they are modern, they are not worth careful observation'.¹¹¹ Magni had the facility to discern that the gates somehow did not belong to the ancient fortification; any interaction with monuments whose antiquity was in question left him indifferent.

Magni must have passed through the gate which Simon de Compiègne had mentioned as leading towards the palace of Hadrian [Olympieion].¹¹² He writes: 'The next morning, the 13th of the month, we rose early and went out of a gate of the city which leads to pleasant and beautiful countryside. An imposing marble gate dominates this area [the Arch of Hadrian], which rests on solid pillars and well-built walls'.¹¹³ Heading out another day to the west side of the city, Magni notes: 'We went from a gate which faces west and visited the famous temple of Theseus which once stood in the centre of the city and now is a few steps outside the modern settlement'.¹¹⁴ This was the western gate which led towards the Piraeus.

The cosmographer and publisher Vincenzo Coronelli, a contemporary of Magni, produced a rich geographical and cartographic work for the conquests of the Republic of Venice in 1686 in which he made a brief reference to Athens. Among his comments, he notes that he saw the foundations of walls at the foot of the Acropolis,¹¹⁵ and he gave an interesting explanation for the small number of visitors that set out for Athens: 'the lower city is located north of the castle, and when one comes from the side of the sea, [Lykavittos] covers so much of it, so there does not appear to be anything more than the houses of the castle. This is the reason why many [visitors] have not even the curiosity to disembark, and are convinced that of the grandeur of Athens all that is left is the castle'.¹¹⁶ This view of Coronelli was supported in the first map that he published, wherein the lower city is shown walled to the north of the Acropolis; the walls of the city are depicted artistically in their full extent, with five round towers and five ramparts between the curtains (Fig. 14).

Fig. 14: Map of Athens by the Venetian cosmographer and

publisher Vincenzo Coronelli (1686a).

Although this map is a distinct improvement in comparison to earlier cartographic surveys of the city, it still relies on fanciful appraisals and lacks topographical value.¹¹⁷ In a later edition of his book, Coronelli published a second map of Athens, which has many similarities with the map of Guillet and perhaps was copied from it, although with a large amount of personal input from Coronelli himself.¹¹⁸

The evidence discussed above confirms that when the Venetian army of Morosini landed at Piraeus, Athens was an unwallled city. Before the dramatic siege of the Acropolis and the blowing up of the Parthenon in 1687, the chief engineer Verneda had undertaken a military evaluation of the topography on behalf of Count San Felice and had drawn up a study.¹¹⁹ Thanks to new expertise in measuring, he managed to complete the first exercise in accurate mapping of the city (Fig. 15).¹²⁰

Fig. 15: Reproduction by Francesco Fanelli (1707) of the map of Athens which was drawn by Verneda, chief engineer of the Venetian army during the siege of the Acropolis in 1687. The sites of four gates which led into the city are marked (within the circles). Fanelli (1707) 317.

Despite the fact that the Venetian engineers undoubtedly were not driven by archaeological pursuits, they nevertheless recorded topographical measurements of the monuments quite careful. The continuous line in the plan indicates that the *periboloi* of the houses functioned like a city wall.¹²¹ They also marked the places of four gateways to the city, which are referred to in the legend as 'the four gates of the entrances to the city'.¹²² Verneda's map was republished in 1707 without any modification by Francesco Fanelli in his book *Atene Attica*. It is in fact known more as a map of Fanelli, and was considered by scholars to be one of the most reliable guides, used until the end of the 18th century.¹²³

The almost completely destroyed Rizokastro attracted the attention of most visitors of the mid-17th century, while we hear hardly any hint of the ancient fortification walls themselves, excluding the observation that they laid in ruins and were therefore not worth comment. Thanks to the observations of travellers on the gates and their condition, it also appears that the

number of main gates of the modern city, which in the last quarter of the 17th century functioned as passages from the centre to the countryside, were at least four and were directed to Piraeus to the west, Elefsina to the northwest, to Mount Penteli at the east, and the Arch of Hadrian to the southeast.¹²⁴ By the end of the century, there would at last be some responses to the original question posed by Martin Kraus (see p. 60).

Travel descriptions and illustrations and maps of the city acquire particular value when we consider that just a year after the siege of the Acropolis by the Venetians the fate of Athens would change radically; for the first time in her history, the city would be abandoned (1687–1690). When the inhabitants returned after three years, they strengthened the castle with a new fortification.¹²⁵ The so-called Hypapanti wall,¹²⁶ that was built to protect the Klepsydra fountain, would change completely the northwest appearance of the rock.

4 The tour acquires precision: the 18th century

References to the walls of Athens by travellers during the first half of the 18th century did not add anything new to what was already known. Such notes are few and generalizing, but they are useful insofar as they confirm that the ancient walls were indeed still visible. John Montagu (the Earl of Sandwich), for instance, travelled in the Mediterranean from 1738 to 1739 and visited Athens, among other destinations. At the beginning of his account of Athenian antiquities he records the first remains that attracted his attention: 'In your way from the Piraeum to the city of Athens, you pass all along the ruins of Themistocles's wall'.¹²⁷ Montagu appears to be speaking of the Long Walls, which stood out because of the fine preservation of their remains. His narrative does not contain any information about the circuit of the city because, as he is keen to point out, it would not be worth mentioning the relics that preserve nothing of the ancient splendour of Athens.¹²⁸

The English traveller Richard Pococke, who visited Athens a year later in 1740, offered his readers an overview of the antiquities of Athens.¹²⁹ His book contained a copy of Fanelli's map with minor modifications, and included a brief remark on the residential development of the city, of the kind we met above in other travel narratives: 'to the north of [the Acropolis] the present city of Athens is built. ... the walls [in the plan of Fanelli], I suppose,

being those modern ones with which it was defended when it was under the Venetians'.¹³⁰ Pococke presents this information on the 'modern walls' with some reservation, and rightly so. In the previous section, we ascertained that at the time of the Venetian siege of the Acropolis the city was not walled; it was simply protected from predatory raids by the surrounding walls of the houses on the outskirts of the town.

The study of Athenian topography was injected with a renewed impetus by the work of the English architects James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, who resided in Athens from 1751 to 1753 while on a mission later published by the Society of Dilettanti.¹³¹ With the valuable aids of Pausanias, Spon, Wheler, Guillet and Potter to hand, Stuart and Revett captured a series of ancient Athenian monuments in drawings. Revett undertook the bulk of the systematic measuring of the monuments, while Stuart devoted himself mainly to the study of Athenian topography, which resulted in the text that accompanied the drawings in their volume *The Antiquities of Athens*.¹³² For our purposes we will focus on the topographic map, on which they recorded the visible remains of the ancient city, among them her fortifications through time,¹³³ something that proved a first in the history of the study of Athenian topography (Fig. 16).

Fig. 16: Map of Athens with remains of the ancient monuments, including the walls, as seen and drawn by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett (1751–1753); Stuart/Revett (1794). (ph. Ilias Iliadis).

The third volume of *The Antiquities of Athens* includes a special section entitled *On the Plan of Athens*, which contains explanatory comments on the course of the wall and the positions of its gates. When drawing up the map of the Athenian walls, Stuart worked out the measurements using trigonometric calculations. It was a cartographic project that was considered a serious accomplishment for its time.¹³⁴

At the beginning of his description, Stuart provides an overview of the surviving remains of the wall: 'To what extent [Athens] was afterwards continued can be ascertained even at this time from the vestiges of the ancient city walls, which may be traced, with little intermission, throughout their whole circuit'. The largest surviving stretch of the *peribolos* is shown at the southwest side of the city to the east of the Mouseion hill. But, apart from

capturing the general extent of the wall on a map, Stuart was engaged in determining the positions of its gates. After three centuries of generic references to the walls of Athens we hear the first remarks about the visible foundations of four or five gates, which he attempted to link with the ancient names Dipylon or Thriasiai, Acharnian, Diochaes and Piraic.¹³⁵ For the remaining names found in Potter (see p. 63), Stuart suggested what in his opinion were the most probable places where they should be located, but he did not confirm whether he actually saw any corresponding remains, as he had made clear was in fact the case for the four gates mentioned above.

Stuart's work in the field led him to doubt Potter's enumeration of thirteen gates.¹³⁶ He also clarified some ambiguities, such as that the Arch of Hadrian was not an entrance to the ancient city but a stand-alone monument. He expressed doubts about the existence of the Skaiai gate, but also the Aigeos gate, while in the name Thraciai he saw a misreading of Thriasiai. He recognized in the word Eriai a 'poetic epithet' which concerned a different gate, probably the Sacred; and, based on the large number of tombs that he saw south of the Mouseion hill, he placed the gate there and, in addition, he identified it with the Hippades gates. He thus expressed some reflections on the names of ancient gates and their connection to the ancient sites of Athens, opening a topic that would occupy subsequent scholars. Stuart's investigation of the walls and their gates, together with his map, was to prove a scholarly landmark until the time of Judeich in the early 20th century, and retains its importance even today. In particular, his occupation with the locations and names of the ancient gates systematically encouraged later travellers in their efforts to impart accurate and scientific weight to their fieldwork and would form one of the key themes in the study of ancient Athens (see chapters 5.3.1, 5.3.2). The remainder of this chapter will frequently refer to attempts at identifying the names and positions of the gates by succeeding scholars.

In 1765–1766,¹³⁷ the English scholar Richard Chandler undertook a new topographic survey in Athens on behalf of the Society of Dilettanti. As well as recording the architectural monuments which were still standing *in situ*, he noted that there were numerous ancient members lying scattered about in the streets, others incorporated into newer walls, and yet more lying beside the fountains or built into houses and churches.¹³⁸ With

great erudition, Chandler contributed to an assessment of the actual state of the remains, illuminating many dark and controversial points of the earlier studies of Spon and Wheler, although he also rehabilitated some misunderstandings of Stuart, as Leake would later point out.¹³⁹

Chandler's information on the fortification is limited to a few scattered references. He recognized the walls of Demetrios Poliorketes on top of the Mouseion Hill, the course of which could be seen 'when the ground is free from corn and herbage'.¹⁴⁰ But the main contribution of Chandler lies in the identification of the Dipylon gate at the site where it has been located by modern research.¹⁴¹ He suggested equating the Dipylon not only with the Thriasiai, the Kerameikos and the Sacred gates, but also with the Piraeic, an idea that would meet with fierce criticism from the next generation of researchers.¹⁴² Chandler also mentioned the names of other gates, such as the Diochares, Melitides and Itonian, but he did not connect them with particular remains.¹⁴³ His travel narrative was accompanied by a map of Athens, based on that of Fanelli, which Chandler improved with corrections and additions, rotating it 180°. ¹⁴⁴

Chandler's *Travels* would be taken up a few years later by the French Hellenists Barbié du Bocage and abbé Servois, who translated it into French while commenting specifically on points where they held objections.¹⁴⁵ The polemic of that time, focusing on the accuracy of identifications, proved useful not only for research itself, but also because it sparked the interest of travellers through the available publications.¹⁴⁶

Through the perspective of the French Romantic movement, the antiquarian abbot Jean-Jacques Barthélemy adopted – at the same time as Chandler – a new approach to travelling, his narrative being charged with emotional and aesthetic elements.¹⁴⁷ A thorough study of the ancient sources was combined by Barthélemy with a willingness to reflect the picturesqueness of the landscape and of the life of ancient times both in his book *Athènes et les Athéniens*¹⁴⁸ and in his romantic work *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis en Grèce*, where one chapter is devoted to Athens of the middle of the 4th century B.C.¹⁴⁹ Barthélemy did not aspire to describe the forms of the ancient monuments, not least of all because he had never visited Athens.¹⁵⁰ During the journey of the young Anacharsis to Athens, Barthélemy mentions the walls of the Piraeus, the Long Walls and the Phaleric. Later, the reader is led

into the city and to the district of the Kerameikos and the Dipylon, but the fortification is not among the antiquities that Barthélemy chooses to include in the narrative.

The atlas that accompanies *Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis en Grèce* was compiled from references to the ancient sources for the places where the hero visited, but also by the rich topographical material kept in the Royal Library of France. This material had been gathered during a long and systematic operation by D'Anville and Barthélemy together with the scholarly group surrounding Choisseul-Gouffier, French ambassador to Istanbul.¹⁵¹ Among the rich cartography of the atlas is an important map showing the walls of Athens made in 1784 by Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage,¹⁵² the greatest authority of the age on the historical geography of Greece.¹⁵³ The map depicts the ancient walls using a continuous zigzag line, which encircles the city leaving openings for the locations of the gates (Fig. 17).

Fig. 17: Map of Athens with a schematic representation of the ancient fortifications, which was drawn based on the studies of Jean-Denis Barbié du Bocage (1784). It belongs to a series of maps in the Atlas which accompanied Jean-Jacques Barthélemy's *Travels of Anacharsis the Younger in Greece*. Barthélemy (1799), pl. 14.

The principal difference between the map of Barbié du Bocage and those composed earlier is that the western part of the Themistoklean wall is not depicted along the fortified ridge of the three western hills, but is traced further to the west, embracing those hills. This choice exhibits a superior reading of the ancient traces, and one closer to the original course, as we shall see in the third chapter (see pp. 131–133). Barbié du Bocage had never visited Athens; he did, however, maintain a close correspondence with the best-known Athenian topographer of the time, the French vice-consul Louis-François-Sébastien Fauvel, who had the opportunity, as a resident of Athens, to study Athenian antiquities in depth.

In his letter to Barbié du Bocage dated 4th April 1811, Fauvel reveals that he had conducted important excavations in Athens.¹⁵⁴ Although he gathered a rich collection of research material, he never managed to publish it, despite his initial intentions.¹⁵⁵ One of Fauvel's excavations was carried out at the axis of the road leading to Acharnes outside the northernmost gate of the ancient

wall, which he identified with the Hippades. He hastened to add that this gate was then called 'the gate of the games' from the races organized there every so often along the road.¹⁵⁶ At a distance of about 250 metres from the ancient gate, Fauvel noted also that he had revealed sections of an ancient cemetery.

Fauvel's manuscripts identify a total of eight positions of ancient gates, assigning names to five of them: Thriasiai, Dipylon, Sacred, Hippades, Melitides or Lyceum gates, Aigeos or Phaleric gate, and the Piraic.¹⁵⁷

The greatest addition to archaeological studies by Fauvel remains his map of Athens (Fig. 18).¹⁵⁸ It is thought to have been composed around 1787 or a little later,¹⁵⁹ and it exceeds in value all previous cartographic work on Athens. The wall shown surrounding the city is that built by the Athenians in 1778 under the Turkish governor (voivode) Hadji Ali Haseki, who wanted to fortify the city against sudden raids by Albanians. This wall enclosed a significantly lesser extent than the Themistoklean wall. The Themistoklean remains are marked as individual sections along the perimeter, wherever Fauvel had identified them on the ground, but he does not restore a continuous line of fortification. We can immediately discern the dense presence of remains of the ancient fortifications in the southwest and northwest sides of the city. The value of the Fauvel map lies in its recording of these identified ruins of the ancient wall, and in their relationship with the road system of the city, which is depicted not only within the interior, through the mapping of residential blocks, but also beyond the limits of the inhabited area.¹⁶⁰

Fig. 18: The course of the Ali Haseki wall (1778) depicted in the map of the French consul Louis-François-Sébastien Fauvel, which also records the ruins of the ancient city wall, especially on the west and south sides. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Cartes et plans, Ge DD 6318 f.71r. Plan d'Athènes.

The landscape of Athenian ruins was to change significantly after the building of Ali Haseki's wall, as we see in the description of the English traveller Hawkins, who visited Greece in 1794¹⁶¹: 'the last of which [Haseki's wall] consumed even the few remaining materials of the old; as I had an opportunity of ascertaining, by a comparison of Stuart's plan with the ground it represented'.¹⁶² In Hawkins' essay, included in the collection *Memoirs Relating to*

European and Asiatic Turkey by Robert Walpole, the researcher noted that for the ancient walls of Athens: 'no reliance is to be placed on what are called the vestiges of the ancient walls, with the exception of such as are perceivable on the Museum hill and near Pnyx'.¹⁶³ He recorded his views on naming the gates by adding the ancient names on Fauvel's map, which he recognized as the most remarkable of all, participating himself in the naming game of the gates.¹⁶⁴

5 Travellers and early archaeologists: the first half of the 19th century

By the early nineteenth century, the practise of Athenian topography held a central place in western interests. The journey to Greece experienced a substantial upsurge, and the traveller of the time had morphed into a type of humanist scholar, 'a mixture of surveyor, ethnologist, sociologist and philologist'.¹⁶⁵ Scholars investigating the extent of the ancient city turned to searching for the walls, and a circular wandering around the city along the distinguishable line of the ancient walls became one of the established walks in Athens.

For the Irish painter and traveller Edward Dodwell, who visited Athens in 1801,¹⁶⁶ the ruins of the ancient walls provided artistic inspiration and provoked a deep connection with the ancient land. In those years, any attempt at scientific research presented great difficulties, and he was apprehensive about producing 'a barren and cheerless enumeration of ancient traces, of which it is impossible to verify, and difficult to conjecture the original destination'.¹⁶⁷ With these words he acknowledges the anxiety of the field researcher striving to understand the ancient topography, armed with the ancient sources as well as earlier studies, but who principally must rely on his personal intuition (Fig. 19). Dodwell recorded the surviving walls and traced their circular course, noting the presence of preserved sections in a number of areas. The wall could be seen along the ridge of the Mouseion and Pnyx hills, at their eastern foothills, but also south of Lykavittos, along the north bank of the Ilissos east of the Stadium, and in the south and southwest sides of the city.¹⁶⁸ While in Stuart's time there appears to have been visible foundations of some gates of the ancient walls, when Dodwell studied the antiquities of Athens it was 'very difficult to identify the position of more than four'¹⁶⁹

gates, among which he recognized the Hippades, Diomeian, Piraic, and the Dipylon.¹⁷⁰ This change in the state of the ancient ruins should probably be attributed to the construction of the new wall of Ali Haseki, into which an abundance of ancient material had been incorporated, in places perhaps taken from the ancient fortification.

Fig. 19: Watercolour by Edward Dodwell with the temple of Olympian Zeus and the Ilissos. Roderic Bowen Library / Archive, University of Wales, Lampeter. Photo courtesy of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Gennadius Library.

Dodwell was further troubled by the reuse of ancient stones as building material throughout the northern part of the city for the construction of churches: 'In the intermediate plain, between this spot [the Kerameikos] and the foot of Anchesmos [Lykavittos], there are scarcely any remains except the ancient walls of the city; which may be traced in a few places, but with difficulty and hesitation. Several small churches which are dispersed in the plain, probably mark the site of ancient fabrics, as the majority are composed of blocks and fragments of architecture'.¹⁷¹ Leake too would later note his reservations about the northern boundary of the ancient city and the surviving doubtful remains of the wall there.

On the northwest side of the city, very near the rock on which today sits the old church of Agios Athanasios Kourkouris, Dodwell's interest was attracted by the 'large masses of stone, which seem thrown there by some extraordinary exertion of nature', clearly impressed by the site before him.¹⁷² If this collapse had not resulted from the extraordinary power of nature, it could have been due to the power of man or the art of war; the section of the wall between the Sacred and the Piraic gates was that breached by Sulla and his army in 87/6 B.C. (Plut. *Sulla* 14.3) (see p. 42).

Dodwell sought out the positions of the gates of the Themistoklean wall through their relationship to the gates of the Ali Haseki wall. He pointed out, for example, that the Piraic gate should be sought above the road that starts from the so-called Gate of the Castle, the westernmost in Ali Haseki's wall, that led to Piraeus. Dodwell's methodology is also in evidence when searching for an ancient gate in the southern section of the wall, at the stretch between the Olympieion and the Mouseion hill; the

ruins there consisted of 'some imperfect traces, and scattered blocks of stone and marble'.¹⁷³ He surmised that the road leading from the city centre to Phaleron that passed through the Arvanitiki gateway of the Haseki wall should follow an ancient south-westerly route through the corresponding gate in the Themistoklean wall.¹⁷⁴ He thus connected the location of the Themistoklean gate with the remains that he saw near the banks of the Ilissos, comprising an arch-shaped brick structure of small stones, mortar and perhaps marble revetment, which he identified as the funerary monument of the Amazon Antiope seen by Pausanias on entering the city on his way from Phaleron (1.2.1): 'The foundations of the town walls, and the imperfect vestiges of a gate are perceived a few yards nearer to the Acropolis',¹⁷⁵ and he called this the Hippades gate, rather than Stuart's Itonian. In the 1860s, during road construction on Phalerou street, Pervanoglu had investigated these remains, which he too assumed belonged to the Amazon monument.¹⁷⁶ Dodwell's description is therefore of special value, since this same site today is the scene of a search for a still unidentified southern gate of the wall. Thanks to the scientific acuity with which Dodwell investigated the antiquities, his description of Athens is considered one of the most comprehensive of its kind.

The architect Sebastiano Ittar from Catania visited Athens at the same time as Dodwell. He stayed in the city between 1800 and 1801 as a member of the notorious mission of Lord Elgin. Among Ittar's surviving plans is a map surveying the line of the Themistoklean wall, onto which he also marked the positions of some ancient gates along with their names (Hippades, Acharnian, Melitides, Diomeian, Diochares, Aigeos).¹⁷⁷

The course described by the remains of the fortifications was confirmed by the English traveller Edward Daniel Clarke, in the same areas where they had been identified by his predecessors, during a trip to Athens in 1802.¹⁷⁸ These sites are the sections of the Themistoklean wall that extend south of the precinct of the Olympieion, southeast of the Mouseion Hill, at the *diateichisma* by the monument of Philopappos up to the Koile road (Hdt. 6.103), and finally to the Kerameikos. Regarding the positions of the visible gates, Clarke identified remains of the wall at the entrance to the city from Phaleron,¹⁷⁹ possibly in the place of the so-called Phaleric gate, but he also noted the ruins of an ancient gate that crossed the Koile road.¹⁸⁰ He was also engaged with determining

the relationship of the Arch of Hadrian with the ancient wall, and on this point he agreed with Stuart that the Arch was in fact a free-standing monument.¹⁸¹

The plan of the antiquities of the city published in Clarke's book derived from one given to him by the English architect William Wilkins.¹⁸² Apart from the drafting of the map itself, Wilkins, during his stay in Athens in 1802,¹⁸³ had also recorded his own views on the monuments and topography of the ancient city. His study supplemented Stuart's treatise with new elements, as he had been able to discern further sections of the wall in the region of the Pnyx, at the Mouseion hill, and in the area southwest of the Olympieion.

Wilkins considered that the gates had taken their names from the locations from which the roads originated.¹⁸⁴ He set the positions of four gates: the Thriasiai gate or the Dipylon (today the Piraic), the Kerameikos gate (in an unspecified position, although connected to the district of Kerameikos), the Sacred gate or Eleusis gate (on the road to Eleusis), and the Piraic (on the Koile road to Piraeus).¹⁸⁵ He points to visible remains only in the case of the Dipylon, while for the other gates he took the view, contrary to Stuart, that their positions could not be sufficiently proven by the surviving remnants. Gradually the work of the travellers would become more and more demanding in recording and identifying the ancient remains, and Wilkins responded positively to this demand, citing only those antiquities that he was able to identify with certainty in the Athens of his time.

Dodwell had as a travelling companion Sir William Gell, a diligent topographer who resided in Greece between 1805–1806 and 1809–1810 and who wrote among other works a detailed travel itinerary for Athens with recommendations of the monuments that should be visited.¹⁸⁶ Gell saw several parts of the ancient fortification and described their course starting from the northwest and the church of Agia Triada and continuing southwards, across the western hills, and then eastwards to the Ilissos.¹⁸⁷ Gell gave serious consideration to the points made by Stuart about the placing of the ancient gates, but he saw evidence for them only where the road to Eleusis left the city, in the area of Agia Triada; at this point he noted the remains of a tower, which he took to be the Sacred gate.¹⁸⁸

Gell's comments on the surviving sections of the ancient wall have much in common with those of the great topographer and

archaeologist Colonel William Martin Leake, who visited Greece between 1805–1807 and 1809–1810, and was in Athens in 1806.¹⁸⁹ He compiled his observations on the topography of ancient Athens in his book *The Topography of Athens* (1821), later revised in a second edition (1841). Leake found, like Gell and previous scholars, that ‘Along the southern and western sides, from the Ilissos to Dipylum, the direction of the walls is perfectly apparent’,¹⁹⁰ and he recognised the ridge of the western hills as the western boundary of the Themistoklean wall.¹⁹¹ He further noted that there were no preserved indications to reconstruct securely the course of the rest of the wall.¹⁹² The route of the northern arm proved controversial for Leake: ‘I am convinced, from a minute examination of the modern wall [of Ali Haseki] and of the surrounding plain, that no satisfactory vestiges of the ancient walls are to be found among the numerous remains of ancient foundations, which are certainly to be seen on the northern and north-eastern sides of the ancient site’.¹⁹³

Leake’s primary concern was to provide the reader with a clear picture of the general outline of the fortification (Fig. 20).¹⁹⁴ Another task was to choose justifiable names for each gate. To achieve this purpose, he studied the physical configuration of the land, but also looked for the possible convergence of routes between the ancient and modern roads of the city; he also investigated the typical distances that the inhabitants travelled daily to go from one part of the city to another, or to its suburbs, and to regular destinations including the port of Piraeus, Eleusis and the Academy. He began his research with those gates which were, in his opinion, the most critical for the topography of the western side of the ancient city, searching for the Dipylon and the Piraic gates. Leake’s determination of the location of the Dipylon did not present him with any great difficulty: he identified the ancient remains of the gate by following the Sacred Way until its axis intersected the line of the ancient wall, approximately 275 meters distance (he reported 300 yards) from the so-called Gate of Morea in the Haskei wall.¹⁹⁵ In his assessment of the position of the Dipylon, Leake here concurred with Chandler and Dodwell.

Fig. 20: The map of Athens by Colonel William Martin Leake suggests a large eastern stretch for the Themistoklean wall up to the foot of Lykavittos; Leake (1821), unnumbered map following p. CXIV. (ph. Ilias Iliadis).

Investigating the Piraic gates, he highlighted the particular importance of Plutarch's testimony that Sulla's army had invaded in 87/6 B.C. between the Sacred and the Piraic gates (*Sulla* 14.3). He firmly believed that they must have been the immediately neighbouring gates southwest of the Dipylon.¹⁹⁶ In the second edition of this *Topography of Athens* he re-evaluated the position of the Piraic gate, moving it further north.¹⁹⁷ He conceded, however, that the arguments supporting both positions (between the *Topography* of 1821 and 1841) were almost equally forceful.¹⁹⁸

Leake noted the names of eight gates on the map accompanying the first edition of his *Topography* in the following order: Dipylon (or Kerameikos gate or Sacred gate), Acharnian, Diomeian, Diochares, Itonian, Melitides, Piraic and Hippades. In the second edition, he considered the nine gates derived from ancient authors (Thriasiai or Dipylon, Diomeian, Diochares, Melitides, Piraic, Acharnian, Itonian, Hippades, Eriai)¹⁹⁹ to be too few, and suggested that there were twelve or thirteen gates punctuating the ancient wall, and that the distances between them were regular at approximately 450 meters apart.²⁰⁰

Traces marked south of the Olympieion precinct on the map of the second edition of Leake's *Topography* are accompanied by the phrase *Foundations of a Tower*, which were evidently still distinguishable in his time. If indeed these belonged to a tower, it may be one of the four towers uncovered south of the Olympieion that reinforced the so-called Justinianic fortification. For all his indispensable observations, Leake has rightly been granted the title of the first scientific researcher of the physical remains of the ancient wall, but he was also the most accurate in identifying the course of the Themistoklean wall, as Judeich acknowledged.²⁰¹ A characteristic example of the methodology pervading his work is the fact that he took care to note on the map of the second edition of the *Topography* Stuart's and Fauvel's reflections on the location of the gates, thus giving the reader an overview of what work had been done up until then on the subject.

Among the visitors who had the chance to benefit from Fauvel's knowledge of the archaeological wealth of Athens was the French writer François-René de Chateaubriand, who visited Athens in 1806. The Philopappos monument provided the best vantage point to survey the antiquities of the city, particularly in order to discern the contours of the ancient fortification. Chateaubriand writes: 'Mr. Fauvel showed me several places where the walls of

the ancient city passed'.²⁰² He too did not fail to include in his book a description of the wall's course, highlighting once again that at that time the ancient fortification was one of the most popular attractions of the city.

The travel literature of the period does not lack romantic outpourings inspired by the sight of the ancient landscape. During Leake's time, another researcher of Athenian topography, John Cam Hobhouse, painter and travelling companion of Lord Byron, travelled to Greece between 1809–1810.²⁰³ He climbed the hill of the Pnyx to enjoy the landscape while visiting Athens in 1810:

'Nothing can be more full of life than the picture to be viewed, particularly on this side, close to the walls of Athens'.²⁰⁴

Meanwhile, publications on the surviving ancient monuments of Athens had now reached a level of competition, and the wealth of narratives about the ancient and modern city of Athens was such that they prevented Holland, who travelled between 1812 and 1813, from undertaking a similar project: 'all I could say would be but the repetition of facts already known'.²⁰⁵

The travel literature produced by the plethora of visitors that flocked to Athens in the first years following the revolution 1821 gave priority to philhellenic approaches to historical and sociological events because of the great impact of struggles for national liberation. Archaeological observations are scarce in this period and are limited to incidental and vague references.²⁰⁶ One often encounters in these narratives traces of the French romantic approach to travelling. Quinet's inclusion in his 1828 travelogue of the name of an ancient gate is characteristic: 'A cannon, the only defence we found, was mounted on its carriage in front of the gate, which perhaps was the Diomeian'.²⁰⁷

After the independence of the Greek state in 1830, the maps published in the various books on Athens contain little information on the remains of the ancient fortification. One exception is the map of Kleanthis – Schaubert (1831–1832), a valuable guide because of the mass of archaeological data that it contains.²⁰⁸ The map marked the course of the new Haseki wall, but also includes indications of the ruins of the Themistoklean wall.²⁰⁹ It is useful, for instance, in noting the foundations, probably of a tower, west of the hill of Agios Athanasios Kourkouris.²¹⁰ The crossing of the wall through this area was certainly known from other travellers, such as Dodwell, but the careful plans of the actual remains by Kleanthis and Schaubert contributed to its identification during

later discoveries by archaeologists; the above mentioned foundations might be identified with the remains of a tower investigated in the mid-20th century at the junction of Eptachalkou and Ephestion streets.²¹¹

During the last third of the 19th century, the travellers' toil gave way to a new period of engagement with the ancient wall, which would be purely archaeological, stemming from the exposure near Agia Triada, today's Kerameikos archaeological site, of the first important excavation of the Athenian walls.

6 Summary

Sources mentioning the final Justinianic fortifications were followed by a deep silence of any further remarks about the walls of Athens. They had not, however, completely faded from historical memory. In the language of 12th century Byzantium the ancient fortification had retained the name 'royal wall', which was employed to delimit Byzantine properties. Despite their emblematic status, the walls were irreparably devastated, as we hear from Michael Choniates. Meanwhile, the writings of medieval scholars in the west kept alive a legendary perception of the walls of Athens as strong and impregnable. But during the Renaissance, Athens would be thought of as an insignificant village, having lost all its Classical grandeur. Irrespective of the actual state of the ancient walls at the time, the dominant impression of the city is one of decline and its walls as unmemorable.

Into this jumble of contradictory descriptions, Nicolò da Martoni exhibited a fortuitous attention to the visible antiquities of Athens at the end of the 14th century. First Cyriacus of Ancona and then Urbano Bolzanio recorded in the mid-15th century a few general observations about the Athenian fortifications, impressed by the volume of their ruins. However, the majority of comments by visitors from the second half of the 16th century and later, such as Hugo Favolio and Jean Carlier de Pinon, remained focused on the image of the modern city, explicitly mentioning that it was 'without walls or moat'.

Athens' prospects for inclusion into western antiquarian interests began to take shape in the early 17th century. Delving into the ancient sources, Meurs laid the foundation for the study of the Athenian fortification and its gates, and his questioning was followed and enriched by Rous and Potter. A little later, the French

Capuchin monks, resident in Athens from 1658, undertook for the first time the work of recording Athenian antiquities.

A substantial boost to research was the visit of the Marquis de Nointel to Athens in 1674. The monks Babin, Barnabé and Simon de Compiègne, who worked towards the visit's preparation, and also other personalities of the era, such as Magni and Coronelli, wanted to answer the question whether Athens in their day was fortified or not and if it had gates, and a general conclusion has been drawn that it had at least four gates that functioned as simple and unguarded crossings. There then appeared the first antiquarian travellers with a Classical education: the abundance of ancient remains would establish the perception of the historicity of the city. With Guillet as an excellent representative of a new scholarly engagement focusing on Athens, gradually the symbolic reconnection of the modern city with the past was accomplished, primarily through references to the ancient sources. At the same time, the search for the physical remains of the walls began. This vision shed new light on Athens and was enshrined in the authority of Spon and Wheler, whose tour provided the main source of information but also an inspiration to travellers of the 18th century.

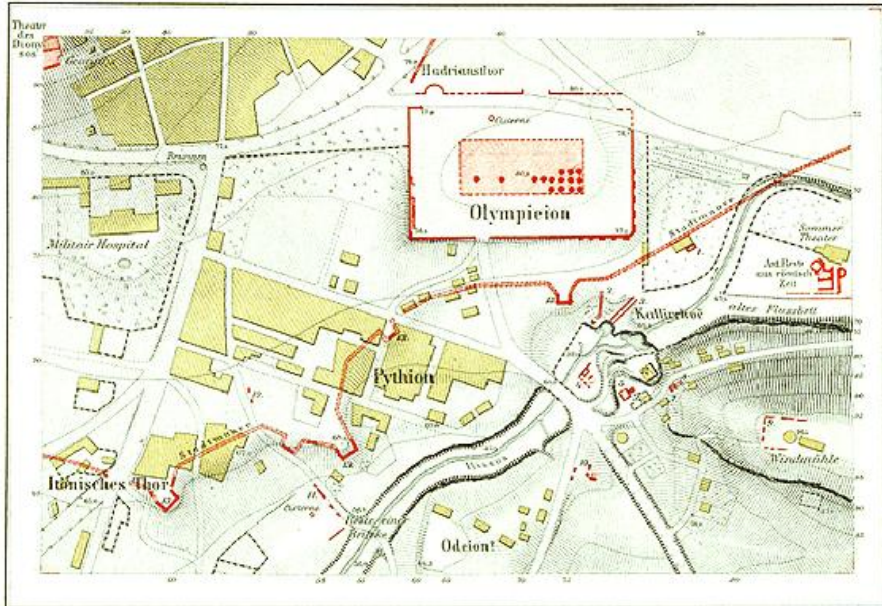
The next landmark in research of the ancient walls came in the mid-18th century with the work of Stuart and Revett, who approached the walls of Athens in the same careful way that they recorded the other notable monuments of the city. The remains of the ancient wall were mapped for the first time, while the visible foundations of the gates were linked to ancient names. The representation of the ruins of the ancient wall by Stuart saved important information for subsequent research, especially as the building of the Ali Haseki wall in 1778 would significantly change the ruins of the fortification through its extensive reuse of ancient material. Chandler continued in 1776 to attach ancient names to the known foundations of ancient gates. In contrast, for the French travellers of the same period, the study of Antiquity was linked with the romantic movement, which clearly approached topographical observation with much less emphasis on the remains. French scholars like Fauvel and Barbié du Bocage, however, participated with passion in the study of Athenian topography and contributed greatly to research into the ancient walls and their mapping. The next generation of British travellers in the 18th and early 19th century, among them Hawkins, Dodwell,

Clarke, Wilkins, Gell and Leake, was destined to shape the character of early archaeology, shortly before the first formal archaeological excavations were undertaken. This development will be traced in the following chapter, which focuses on the unearthing of the course of the wall and the most important milestones in archaeological research.

PLAN von ATHEN

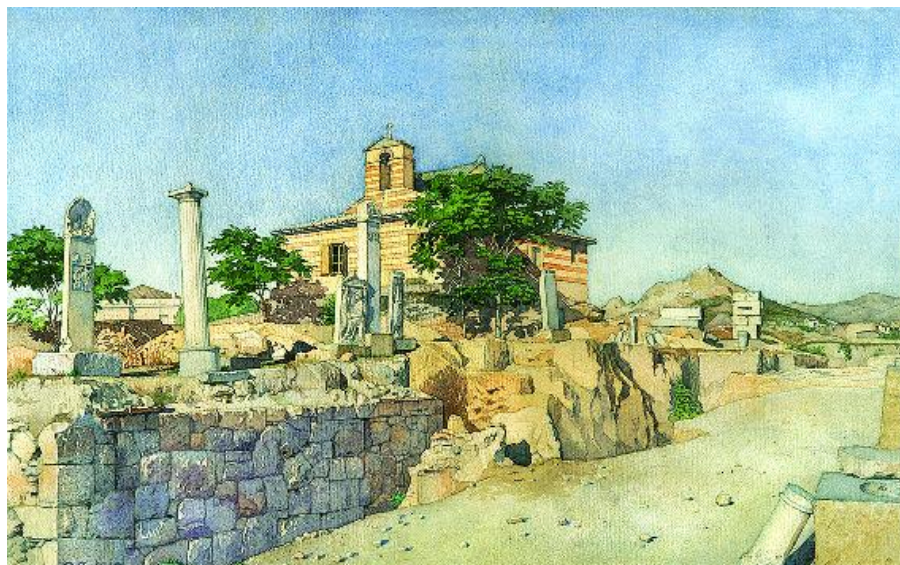
von
C. v. STRANITZ,
Major im Königlich Preussischen Generalstabe
1852.

— Alter Grundriss — die neuere Stadt — die eigentliche Stadtmauer



Entworfen 1825, ges. 1827 von Kasper

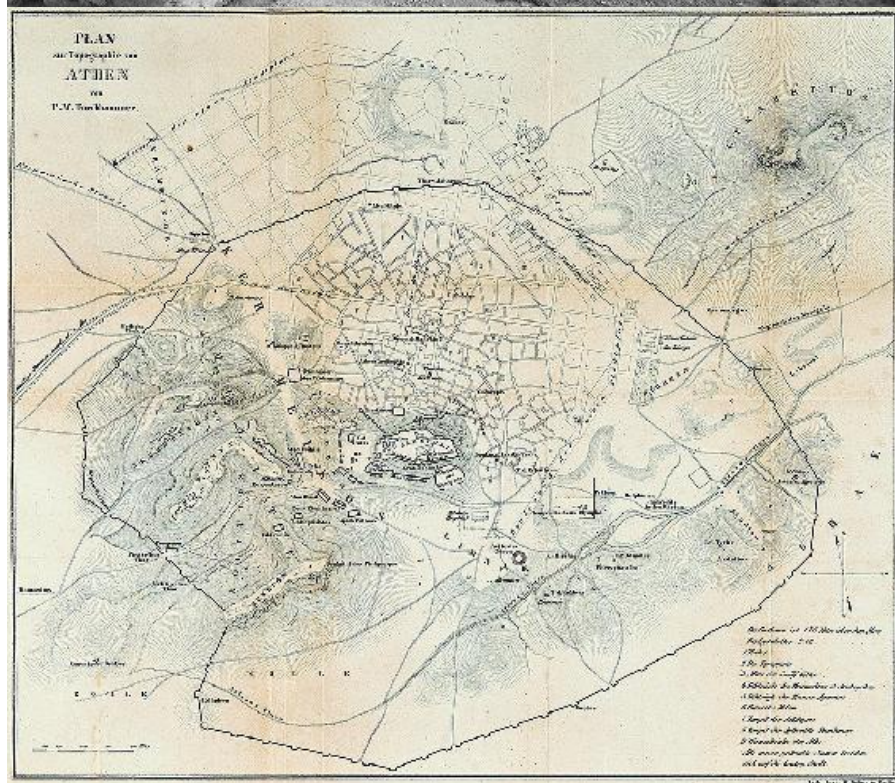
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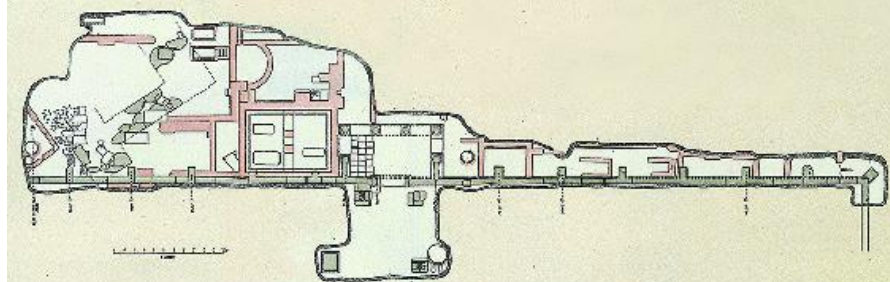














3 The Discovery of the Walls

As the days and months progressed, the line of the wall would become more apparent

S. A. Koumanoudes, *PAE* 1880, 9.

Scientific research on the Themistoklean wall was to develop

dynamically from the middle of the 19th century onwards with the excavation and publication of the first remains of the fortification. Several excavated sections were identified within areas previously pinpointed by the travellers in their texts and accompanying maps. Gradually, more sections of the fortification would be revealed in hitherto unexplored areas, such as in the northern and eastern parts of the city.

Creating a body of evidence founded upon archaeological data was a long evolutionary process. Archaeologists of the mid-19th century were well-versed in ancient Greek and the writings of the travellers, but were faced on the ground with an unfamiliar landscape. There certainly were scattered visible remains as well as open areas throughout the city where the course of the wall was discernible from the earth mounds indicating its line; but in other areas, its course remained completely uncertain. The precise outline of the Themistoklean circuit would gradually be restored plot by plot only after the first so-called rescue excavations of the 1920s, and in particular during the 50s and 60s. The monographs of Walther Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (1905, 1931²), and John Travlos, *Πολεοδομική Ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* (1960), stand as milestones in this development, synthesizing the results of research on the Athenian walls.

The purpose of this chapter is to trace these archaeological developments from their earliest stages, and to comprehend the evolution of the underlying debates about the wall. Looking at the mid-19th century, we will discover that, with the exception of the Kerameikos excavations that had from their beginning almost taken the form of systematic archaeological investigations, the wall was excavated almost entirely ‘by chance opportunity’.¹ In addition to the rescue excavations of the Archaeological Society and the Archaeological Service, which constitute the basis of our knowledge, an important role was played by the studies of the foreign archaeological schools; sections of the wall were investigated by the German Archaeological Institute in the Kerameikos (on the Themistoklean wall), and by the American School of Classical Studies across the three western hills (the so-called *diateichisma*) and in the Agora (the Post-Herulian wall).

A survey of the principal landmarks in the history of investigations into the wall must begin from the declaration of Athens as the capital of a newly established Greek state in 1833. Having followed the first signs of archaeological investigation,

which were initially concerned with the general limits of the ancient wall (III.1), we will consider the first identified chance findings of the fortification between 1850–1860 (III.2), and how that research led in 1871 to the excavation of the first major section of the fortification in the Kerameikos (III.3). We will then discuss the evolution of the study of the Themistoklean wall from 1870 onwards (III.4), and of the Post-Herulian wall (III.5). The final section focuses on the discovery of the eastern and western arms of the Themistoklean wall, and the relationship of the temple of Olympian Zeus to the course of the wall (III.6). We will then follow the quest to identify the positions of three gates of the wall, those leading to the Piraeus, to Acharnai, and to Phaleron.

Scholars trying to restore the course of the wall had repeatedly to return to the same issues that had puzzled their predecessors. Various proposals were put forward through plans, diagrams and maps, that developed from one generation to the next, producing the picture that we have inherited today. We will observe how the study to restore the Themistoklean wall had waded through many uncertainties and hypotheses, revisions and speculations in order to arrive at the point where we can now trace the majority of its course.

1 The first signs

After the siege of the Acropolis by Kioutachis in 1826–1827, the city was depopulated, the olive-rich area of Elaionas to the west of the city was for the most part burned, the gardens, vineyards but also the fields were all ravaged, as we learn from the historian Dionysios Sourmelis.² Responding to its new role as the capital of the state, Athens needed to be reconstructed on the basis of an urban plan; this was duly prepared by the architects Stamatios Kleanthis and Gustav Eduard Schaubert,³ and was approved by the Greek state in 1833.⁴ Many of the houses from the old core of the city were either rebuilt or enlarged with surrounding structures; the newly constructed buildings, however, often required the digging of foundations that reached such a depth that architectural finds came to light that had been preserved underground for centuries, among them parts of the massive ancient walls. Among the most important protagonists of this first archaeological research on the wall in the decades that followed were Kyriakos S. Pittakis, Ludwig Ross, Alexandros Rizos Rangavis

and later Petros Pervanoglu, Stephanos A. Koumanoudes, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Ernst Curtius and Johann August Kaupert, Andreas Skias, Ferdinand Noack, and Walther Judeich.

The new city was originally developed north of Adrianou street and the Kerameikos archaeological site, where the houses of the first repatriated Greeks of the diaspora were built. The housing development extended to Aioulou, Ermou, and Athinas streets and to the current Eleftherias or Koumoundourou square (then Loudovikou square).⁵ Kyriakos Pittakis, ephor of antiquities between 1836 and 1863, spent the early stages of the city's urban development making every effort to save the ancient ruins, which at that time were providing accessible building materials for the new constructions.⁶

In his book *L'ancienne Athènes*, published in 1835, Pittakis discusses the visible remains of the ancient fortifications and locates positions of the gates, which he linked with the ancient names Dipylon, Acharnian, Diochares, Diomeian, Aigeos, Melitides, and Piraic gates.⁷

When Pittakis copied the inscriptions from inscribed tombstones or votive monuments, he noted the places where they were found, and later investigators owe a great deal to his method. At the same time, he took care to mention the proximity of these monuments to potential gateways or to the probable line of the wall, since he knew that the walls, and especially their gates, held an important place in the topography of the ancient city. He says, for example, that he found two funerary stelai 'in the eastern part of Athens, not far from the Diochares gate',⁸ while two more were found 'in the house of Limnios, lying by the ancient Diochares gate of Athens'.⁹ Limnios' house was the first property at the corner of the current Vasileos Georgiou A' and Panepistimiou streets, a site later occupied by the Grande Bretagne hotel.¹⁰

Pittakis associated the remains of the ancient fortification not only with ancient burial grounds but with other locations in the city, such as the Ilissos, and with the ancient and modern road networks. He gives the following information about the location of foundations of an ancient gateway in the area of the Ilissos: 'West of the Enneakrounos, following the course of the Ilissos, on the road that leads to Sounion, there are visible remains of a gate, the gate of Aigeos. Traces of wheel-ruts can even be distinguished'.¹¹

Pittakis' methodology and the importance of his work in

determining the course of the wall is illustrated by the characteristic example of his discovery of a funerary stele in 1853 near the Russian Church (Soteira Lykodemou) on Philellinon street. It should be noted that, during the reign of the Emperors Valerian (A.D. 253–260) or Gallienus (A.D. 260–268), the original Themistoklean course of the wall in this region was abandoned and moved eastwards, as described further below (see p. 208), with the result that the earlier Themistoklean course was not visible to the travellers after centuries of neglect and the earth fill that had meanwhile covered its ruins. In 1853, however, Pittakis was able to determine the Themistoklean course by its relation to Philellinon street and the position of the Russian Church: 'in this house (of Iakovos Odysopoulou) was also found the monument of Polla, on top of which was a stele; this indicates that the wall of the city of Athens passed to the west of the church of Lykodemou [Russian Church], leaving her outside of the ancient city'.¹² It was perhaps the first time that the eastern course of the Themistoklean wall was disengaged from the route established by Leake (see Fig. 20) and fixed more closely to its original position. Subsequent research has suggested that Odysopoulou's house was located at Philellinon 5,¹³ two blocks east and outside of the Themistoklean course, thus confirming the accuracy of Pittakis' assessment.

Ludwig Ross, another great figure of epigraphy and archaeology, copied inscriptions while also recording the precise location of their find spots.¹⁴ Ross, who served as head of the Archaeological Service from 1834 to 1836, had already put together between 1832 to 1833 the first reports on the extent of the large eastern cemetery of the ancient city, identifying the boundaries of the Themistoklean wall to the east. During excavations of the garden and foundations of the Kontostavlos house, the aim of which was to create a temporary residence for King Otto (on the site of the Old Parliament building), Ross recorded two inscribed gravestones at the junction of Kolokotroni and Stadiou streets.¹⁵ The line of the wall passed through this region, which would later be confirmed by archaeological work in the late 19th century on Kolokotroni street (B2). The value of the contributions of Pittakis and Ross would then become apparent, as the first excavations began to reveal remains of the wall in positions that they had previously indicated.

The fact that in Classical Athens burials were not allowed

within the city – as Cicero (4.12.3) tells us – acted as a guide in the search for the Themistoklean wall. It would be an oversight, claimed Petros Pervanoglu in 1862, not to use ‘the positions of discovered graves for the determination of the course of the city wall, since the ancient authors reported that any burying of the dead within the city walls was forbidden’.¹⁶ Athanasios Rousopoulos stressed the same point: ‘the ancient Greeks never buried their dead within the *peribolos* of the city’¹⁷; while in 1888 Alexandros Rangavis remarked: ‘Every part containing graves should be considered as outside of the *peribolos*’.¹⁸ It was becoming commonplace, at least among Greek researchers, to realise that the cemeteries that developed after the Persian Wars stretched out from the fortification circuit and along the roads that passed through the gates.

The layout of Athens was extended in 1864–1865 under a new design, generating roadworks and widening the first built-up areas west of Piraios street, but also northeast of the centre towards Lykavittos.¹⁹ This resulted in a burgeoning of excavations for the foundations of new houses and, in parallel, allowed investigations into areas crossed by the wall. Burial grounds then became known – although it was not yet completely known whether they were for group or individual burials – through excavation in the area of the Dipylon,²⁰ on Piraios,²¹ Aioulou, Stadiou and Nomismatokopeiou (now Paparrigopoulou) streets,²² but also on Kifissias Avenue (now Vasilissis Sofias),²³ and on Philellinon street.²⁴ The continuous discovery of such indications was to prove very important, since it helped researchers to gradually comprehend the areas of the city that surrounded the ancient walls.²⁵

The connection between the cemeteries and the fortification was, however, slow to be widely appreciated by the scientific community. Curtius would declare in 1865: ‘We cannot regard the graves as a fixed criterion for determining the city limits, since we do not know how rigorously this prohibition was applied during different periods; and in any case, only groups of burials would constitute evidence’.²⁶ And indeed, significant groups of burials had not been discovered in Athens up to the time Curtius was writing. It would only be during subsequent excavations in the city, and after the publication of the second edition of Judeich’s *Topographie* in 1931, that the position of cemeteries would provide an indisputable criterion for scholars in determining the course of the Themistoklean wall.

2 The first chance finds: the 1850s and 1860s

The first description of visible remains of the Athenian wall was written in 1850 by Alexandros Rizos Rangavis. Tracing the southern section of the wall from the Mouseion hill eastwards, he arrived at the area east of the Olympieion opposite the Stadium. Beneath an artificial mound, at a distance of about a hundred paces (70–75 m.) north of the right bank of the Ilissos, he detected the foundations of an ancient tower, which he speculated belonged to a gate (see Map, V14).²⁷ The same area had previously been identified by Leake as the location of a Themistoklean gateway: 'This was at the end of the causeway, which led over the bridge of the Ilissos into the Stadium'.²⁸ Building upon the restored plan of that great topographer and archaeologist, Rangavis hypothesised that the part of the fortification which he identified some steps to the north of Leake's gate and on the axis of the Stadium should belong to the Themistoklean wall.²⁹ It must be kept in mind that at the time, researchers still believed that they were looking at the remains of the eastern Themistoklean wall in its reconstructed Roman phase here in the eastern part of the city; in fact, they were studying the line of the Late Antique *peribolos*, the so-called Valerian wall.

From these ruins identified north of the Stadium, Rangavis was able to determine that the wall continued on its course to the northeast and subsequently approached the banks of the Ilissos; it was then lost beneath the houses built towards the Mansion of the Duchess of Plaisance, which now serves as the Byzantine and Christian Museum on Vasilissis Sophias avenue.³⁰ Rangavis' description of the ruins of the fortification then moved to the location of the then only known secure trace of the wall, in the foundations of the Kostis house at the junction of Kolokotroni and Stadiou streets (B3).³¹ The remaining sections of the enclosure were still too poorly recognisable for Rangavis to include them in his synthesis.

A few years after the publication of the Rangavis' archaeological observations, Alexander Conze in 1858 studied inscriptions built into a part of the wall that crossed Stadiou street, near its intersection with Amerikis (V4).³² The interpretation of another discovery at the north side of the then Palace, which possibly also belonged to the fortification, occupied Athanasios Rousopoulos in 1862: 'And the large strange building with prominent squared blocks built before the door of the enclosure

[of the Palace], which has a part projecting in the direction of the aqueduct, was dismantled with great difficulty; the work appeared Roman to me'.³³ More than a century later, in 1997–1998, excavations of the Archaeological Service for the construction of an underground car park of the Hellenic Parliament within the same area revealed sections of the Valerian wall (V9).

In the 1860s, Pervanoglu conducted archaeological research that significantly improved the tracing of the ancient wall. He noted in 1862 that some remnants were found outside the northeast corner of the Olympieion precinct, while in 1863 he identified clear remains of an ancient wall west of the Pnyx that had a NE-SW orientation.³⁴ He also reported the discovery of part of the wall in the area of the Dipylon in 1866,³⁵ and in the same year recognised the foundations of an ancient gate during excavations for roadworks on Phalirou street.³⁶

The course of the wall was gradually exposed by small excavations and chance discoveries throughout the city until in 1862 the German historian and geographer Ernst Curtius published his *Attische Studien*. The book was accompanied by a map that was a landmark in the study of Athenian topography, being the first piece of cartography made with precise altimetry and contours.³⁷ The overview of the detailed mapping of the wall had been undertaken by von Strantz, an officer of the Prussian General Staff. In 1868, the same map would be published by Curtius with minor differences in his *Sieben Karten zur Topographie von Athen* (Fig. 21).³⁸

Fig. 21: Map of Athens by E. Curtius and C. von Strantz (1868). The course of the walls is represented with a red dotted line. Curtius (1868), pl. 3. (ph. Ilias Iliadis).

Curtius' description of the remains follows the morphology of the terrain, allowing the reader to visualize the restored line of the walls almost step by step (Fig. 22). We quote, for example, a passage examining the area between the old Turkish bridge over the Ilissos (junction of today's Vourvachi and Kallirrois streets) and the newer bridge next to the Kallirrhoe spring: 'If one takes the road [modern Vourvachi street] to the damaged bridge on the Ilissos, then on both sides of it one will meet at the edge of the mounds clear traces of the wall in two rows of blocks, one behind the other. One can follow the course of the wall for about 80

steps.³⁹ At this mound there are the preserved foundations of a square tower to a height of 6 courses visible above ground, and with a width of 13 steps. The hill retreats to the north, 20 steps away from the tower, and at the edge of it there are undoubtedly traces of ancient working (the rock is cut along a length of 5 steps). A little farther on, a good section of the wall can be seen with a tower that protrudes by 8 steps and has a width of 9 steps. One then encounters the edge of the rock with cuttings on its upper surface, just before the road leading to the new bridge of the Ilissos'.⁴⁰

Fig. 22: Map of Ernst Curtius and Johann August Kaupert (1878) with the line of the Themistoklean wall and its towers in the area between the Olympieion and the Ilissos. Curtius/Kaupert (1878), pl. 10, *Die Umgebung der Kallirrhoe*.

With Curtius' map, scholars of Athenian topography now had to hand an up-to-date guide with which they could accurately observe the positions of the remains, and could speculate on whether they belonged to the wall. The map also remained a valuable source of information for subsequent research: many of the illustrated remains of the wall known until then were soon to disappear, as the expansion of the city was further intensified from the middle of the 1870s until the 1890s.⁴¹

Curtius' maps provided the foundations of a plethora of monographs, among which Wachsmuth's *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum*, published in 1874, is considered one of the most comprehensive of its kind. Wachsmuth believed that, apart from the foundations of the wall, Curtius also recorded other similar remains, mainly individual blocks of conglomerate stone, with no certainty that they belonged to the wall.⁴² Despite this, he relied on Curtius' maps and transferred these indications onto his own plan, although with a slight modification at Agia Triada, where he rightly placed the church outside the walls.⁴³ The reason for this amendment was the initial results of the systematic excavations of the Archaeological Society in the Kerameikos, which had taken place between the work of Curtius and Wachsmuth, and which had definitively and accurately determined the line of the wall in the Kerameikos area. It is to these excavations that we now turn.

3 'The well-known Dipylon': the first systematic

excavations

The first traces of an ancient gate in the area of the Kerameikos were recognized in the late 18th and early 19th century in the studies of Fauvel, Dodwell, Gell and Leake. Following in their footsteps, Pittakis located numerous inscribed funerary stelai from 1820 to 1860, which he published in the journal of the Archaeological Society, *Ephimeris Archaïologiki*, often linking their find-spots with the location of the Dipylon: 'not far from the Dipylon', 'towards the archaeological investigations by the Dipylon', 'towards the works by the Dipylon for road building there', or 'near', 'beside the Dipylon', 'to the west of the Dipylon', to the 'southwest' or 'outside the Dipylon'.⁴⁴

The first physical remains of the ancient Kerameikos gradually began to be excavated from 1863 in the neighbourhood of Agia Triada, which took its name from a small church in the area that today does not survive (Fig. 23).⁴⁵

Fig. 23: The small church of Agia Triada, which today does not survive, standing on the north side of the 'Street of the Tombs' next to the funerary monuments which were discovered at the Kerameikos during the excavations of 1912; in the background is Lykavittos. Watercolour by Otto Zaberer. Photo Archive of the Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Universität Tübingen, Eberhard Karls University, Tübingen (no. Kb4).

The discoveries were of such significance that the Greek state decided in 1865 to preserve the ancient wall, conferring upon it the status of a monument worthy of protection and prohibiting any construction in the area 'within the triangle of Agia Triada formed by the three roads Ermaikis [Ermou street], Ieras, and Piraios, wherein the monument lies, there must not be raised any building whatever'.⁴⁶ Following the expropriation of the land, after lengthy litigation between the state and the property owners, the first systematic excavation was opened on 25th February 1870 by the Archaeological Society to the northeast of the Agia Triada church.⁴⁷

Stephanos Koumanoudes, secretary of the Archaeological Society from 1859–1894, was convinced that the excavations of the Society at Agia Triada would bring to light 'the circuit of the city, and perhaps also the well-known Dipylon'.⁴⁸ In 1871 the line of the

wall was indeed identified, and a boundary marker of the Kerameikos was found in its original position and in contact with the wall.⁴⁹ The first Archaic find built into the wall was revealed in 1873, an inscribed funerary marker of one Xenophantos,⁵⁰ providing irrefutable historical evidence for the use of spolia in the construction of the Themistoklean wall, confirming Thucydides (1.93.1–2).

Archaeological research at the Dipylon continued despite the serious difficulties faced by the Archaeological Society due to existing constructions that had been built on top of the ancient remains in modern times, such as the Turkish aqueduct, a large gas pipeline, and a sewage drain of the city. The fortifications had been preserved undisturbed for centuries beneath seven metres of earth, and the excavations would quickly bring to light large parts of it, including a wall preserved to a height 16 stone courses, according to Koumanoudes⁵¹; his report refers to the *proteichisma*, the second outer fortification wall that encircled the main *peribolos*.

Excavations continued at intervals until 1890, while in the early 20th century the large section of wall stretching west of the Sacred Gate was investigated. The remains of the fortification were found preserved in excellent condition (see Fig. 24). In 1906, Ferdinand Noack documented the use of spolia in the foundation courses of the wall, as Thucydides had noted (1.93.1–2), writing that ‘the joy that we felt with these findings was not, I hardly think, altogether unrestrained’.⁵² In 1913, the Greek government handed over the Kerameikos excavation to the German Archaeological Institute. The study of this section of the wall, which has been exposed to a length of around 180 m., has yielded a treasure-trove of information about the defensive architecture of Athens, which modern research continues to draw from.

Fig. 24: Ferdinand Noack standing in 1906 next to the ancient wall at the Kerameikos (TH1, 1a), which followed the rise of the bedrock in steps (right). The wall was not visible in this way in Antiquity, but is the result of the excavation of the stone bases which were built onto the ground level of the 5th century B.C. during the various building phases which kept pace with the rising ground level. Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, neg. D-DAI-ATH-Athen Bauten 266.

4 Discoveries of the Themistoklean wall aside from the Kerameikos: 1870 onwards

At the time of the Kerameikos excavations, the first great houses of expatriate Greeks were being erected in the area of Syntagma Square.⁵³ Simultaneously, around 1870, there was a strong growth in construction activity in the northern and northeastern parts of the city.⁵⁴ Sections of the walls were revealed during excavations for the foundations of these new buildings, such as in 1872 at the mansion of Vasileios Melas, located at the intersection of Sophokleous and Aioulou streets (TH27),⁵⁵ but also at the house of Leon Melas on Dragatsaniou street (TH35).⁵⁶ The discovery of the wall at these two points of the city indicated the course of the northern arm, about which travellers of the early 19th century had said so little. It is worth recalling here the reflections of Dodwell, and the frustrations of Leake, as they doggedly sought to find some reliable indicator for the course of the wall on the northern side of the city.⁵⁷

Just as the wall began to be revealed, however, its integrity was put in danger. Émile Burnouf, director of the French Archaeological School, recorded in his narrative of the city in 1877: 'The traces of the wall are lost beneath the modern embankments; however, new sections come to light during the digging carried out daily for the creation of basement areas in the houses of the new city'.⁵⁸ Meanwhile, numerous quarries and lime kilns for building works were established on the historic rocky hills of Athens. During this period, parts of the slopes of Lykavittos, Philopappos, the Pnyx, the hill of the Nymphs, Kolonos, Anchesmos (Strephi), and even a section of the Acropolis rock were destroyed.⁵⁹ The intensity of building activity would inevitably go hand in hand – already from the last quarter of the 19th century – with the threat of the continuing loss antiquities, including the ruins of the ancient wall.

While the interventions in the north and northeastern parts of the city were substantial, the physical appearance of the city to the south and the northwest had not yet been spoiled, preserving the traces of the fortification. Burnouf was thus able in 1877 to describe the course of the wall almost as it had been seen and recorded by the majority of travellers from Stuart onwards.⁶⁰ Koumanoudes distinguished several sites in 1872 that were to prove invaluable to subsequent research, particularly in the area

southwest of the Olympieion: 'Beside the right bank of the Ilissos, to the west of the bridge leading to the cemetery, there are some houses, built not very well a few years ago almost on the line of the *peribolos* of the city, and in the court of one of them, that of Chr. Karditsis, a plaque was excavated broken, having an important inscription on it (a report of the Delian amphictyony), which gave the Archaeological Society a reason to undertake an excavation there'.⁶¹ He confirms that at this point 'that part of the ancient city *peribolos* was in ruins, but we believe we can discern the line of the wall stretching beneath the said house'.⁶² These houses discussed by Koumanoudes southwest of the Olympieion have now been located with relative certainty in the area of Athanasiou Diakou street, where the line of the ancient fortification passes (TH62, V17).⁶³ What then remained was to identify and to examine the features of the walls themselves, a work of a much later generation of archaeologists operating in this area in the 1950s and 1960s.

The restoration of the course of the circuit, based upon the archaeological research of the 1870s, was reflected in a new series of maps – the fruit of a long and meticulous cooperation by the Germans Ernst Curtius and Johann August Kaupert. The maps of Athens that they published in their *Atlas von Athen* (sheets I, II, III) in 1878,⁶⁴ and in the *Karten von Attika* in 1881–1894 (sheets I, Ia),⁶⁵ were popular and repeatedly reissued.⁶⁶ The gradual disappearance of traces of the wall since then makes these maps extremely valuable, and they remain important reference works today.⁶⁷ Alongside this cartographic documentation, Milchhöfer added a collection of ancient literary and epigraphic sources for the topography of Athens, perhaps the most systematic since that of Meurs in the early 17th century, which formed the first part of Curtius' book, *Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, and included a section on the walls.⁶⁸

During the 1880s and 1890s there was a new population surge in the capital.⁶⁹ Despite this construction boom, extended parts of the northwest arm of the wall were still clearly visible in 1888. In that year, Rangavis published his *Τοπογραφικά τῶν Ἀρχαίων Ἀθηνῶν*, in which he drew the following picture: 'From the bema of the Pnyx, traces proceed to the northwest, up to the hill of the Nymphs, and from there, at a distance of about 250 metres, they curve to the north, crossing west of Agios Athanasios Chalkouris [Kourkouris]'.⁷⁰ The line of the southern arm was also still

discernible in 1892 across the whole expanse from the Mouseion hill to the Arch of Hadrian. Pernice writes: 'It is enough to look for slightly elevated ground, where the foundations of the wall should be preserved in the soil'.⁷¹ It appears that scholars examining the course of the ancient wall had adequate evidence at their disposal, at least for some sections of its route.

Research made significant progress in the early 1890s thanks to two new excavations conducted by Dörpfeld. In 1892, he identified the remains of the circuit wall near a corner building between Aristeidou and Pesmazoglou streets (TH32) (see Fig. 25).⁷² Two years later, further remains were investigated east of the Dipylon beneath Psaromilingou street (TH2).⁷³ The first excavation on Pesmazoglou street was particularly illuminating, uncovering not only a considerable part of the curtain wall but also the *proteichisma*.

Fig. 25: Excavation of Wilhelm Dörpfeld in 1892 at the junction of Aristeidou and Pesmazoglou streets (TH32). All-stone wall of the Hellenistic period with a width of ca. 5 m. Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, neg. D-DAI-ATH-Athen Bauten 58.

Fig. 26: Foundations of a Hellenistic tower on the top of the hill of the Muses (Philopappos); revealed by Skias (1898) and later studied by Thompson and Scranton (1936–1937). It belongs to the so-called Macedonian fort. Thompson/Scranton (1943) 332, fig. 40.

Fig. 27: Detail from the map of Judeich (G7) which was published in 1905 and reissued in 1931, with the remains of two towers (in black) in the area between the Ilissos and Syngrou avenue. Judeich (1931¹²).

Archaeological work was undertaken by Skias on the Mouseion hill in 1898 during works to open a route for the transportation of stones from the quarries operating there.⁷⁴ The foundations of a fortification tower were unearthed during this investigation (see Fig. 26), which, as Skias pointed out, 'undoubtedly belongs to the fort built on the Mouseion by Demetrios Poliorketes for the installation of the first Macedonian garrison'.⁷⁵ Searching for the Themistoklean wall itself, Skias noted: 'Clear and certain traces of the *peribolos* of the city did not appear in the excavations at the top of the hill, perhaps the *peribolos* passes through here lower

down, encompassing the entire peak within'.⁷⁶ Finally, Judeich would restore on his map the course of the Themistoklean wall enclosing the top of the Mouseion hill,⁷⁷ from which it could have fully ensured control over the steep slopes.

The picture of Athens was changed drastically in the early 20th century by new extensions of the urban plan.⁷⁸ The formerly open areas of the old core were covered to a large extent by new constructions, and the remains of the fortification suffered significant damage as a result. The British archaeologist Ernest Gardner noted in 1902: 'Its line can be traced with tolerable certainty throughout, though in the part occupied by the modern town the records of isolated and often accidental discoveries have to be pieced together, and nothing of it can be seen, unless the digging of a large hole for the foundations for a house or for some other purpose has laid it bare'.⁷⁹ One such case of digging, but with a positive outcome for our study, was the exposure of a section of circuit wall at the southern side of Agios Athanasios Kourkouris hill in 1901 (TH123). Demetrios Philios, who studied the discovery, found that its position coincided with the solid black line of the wall as restored on Curtius' map.⁸⁰ A few years later, Judeich would confirm that these remains did indeed belong to the Themistoklean wall.⁸¹

Judeich's valuable work *Topographie von Athen*, published in 1905, was a milestone in the study of the walls. Discussing the course of the *peribolos*, Judeich noted that the maps of Curtius and Kaupert had given more emphasis to the observation of terrain and less to the results of archaeological investigations.⁸² The position of graves that had been discovered outside the walls of the ancient city was for Judeich a more solid criterion for restoring the line of the Themistoklean wall.⁸³

Judeich's map preserves valuable information, especially for the south side of the Acropolis where there had been an expansion of the neighbourhood in the 1910s,⁸⁴ with a resultant disappearance of ancient traces. A typical example is provided by two towers lying south of Syngrou avenue that were still preserved at that time (see Fig. 27, and sites TH66 and TH80 on the map at the back cover of the book), but which today remain undiscovered by archaeological investigations.

During the course of his field studies ahead of the publication of a second edition of the *Topographie* in 1931, Judeich comments that there no longer existed the irrefutable evidence of the

standing remains that had formed the primary base of his original study: 'Over the last 25 years, the modern city has so resolutely occupied the ancient, that there is almost nothing left of the earlier picture.⁸⁵ The pressing necessity to find shelter for refugees after the Asia Minor catastrophe in 1922, and the subsequent rapid building activity, had the effect of reducing the number of ancient remains, whether scattered dressed blocks of the wall or funerary stelai and other architectural members. Every ancient stone proved useful building material and was uncontrollably removed from the earth. A typical snapshot of life among the ruins of the city in the early 20th century is provided by two photographs (Figs. 28–29) showing the remains of an ancient tower built of conglomerate stones projecting onto a road, perhaps today's Iosiph ton Rogon street southwest of the Olympieion (TH66).

Fig. 28: View of the remains of a tower (TH66) to the SW of the Olympieion, as still preserved in 1907. The southeast corner of the tower occupies part of the road, probably today's Iosiph ton Rogon. Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, neg. D-DAI-ATH Athen Bauten 398.

Fig. 29: View of the remains of a tower (TH66) to the SW of the Olympieion, as still preserved in 1907. The SE corner of the tower occupies part of the road, probably today's Iosiph ton Rogon. Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, neg. D-DAI-ATH Athen Bauten 399.

In preparing the second edition of his *Topographie*, Judeich faced additional difficulties caused by his inability to access material of the Archaeological Service, and also the problem of locating the position of ancient remains that he himself had previously recorded due to changes in street names and the numbering of building plots.⁸⁶ His new work nevertheless included interesting revisions of his earlier views, additions of new points and a careful reassessment of the remains of the wall.

From the 1920s onwards, the discovery of the Athenian fortifications within the fabric of the city came almost exclusively from rescue excavations. The first to be uncovered were sections of the Valerian wall in the plot of the Royal Stables in 1926–1928 (V5), on Panepistimiou street during the extension of the Grande Bretagne Hotel in 1929 (V7),⁸⁷ on Dipylou street (TH7), and also at

the site of the Acharnian gate in 1929–1930 (TH29); while in 1938 the Archaeological Service commissioned John Travlos to conduct excavations of the Themistoklean wall at the corner of 14 Aristeidou and Pesmazoglou streets (TH32), immediately adjoining Dörpfeld's old excavations.⁸⁸

In 1932 and 1934, the American School of Classical Studies conducted excavations in collaboration with the Archaeological Service along the line of the wall running beside the foundations of the East Stoa west of the Pnyx.⁸⁹ The entire wall – the so-called *diateichisma* – was exposed in 1936 and 1937 across the ridge of the hills of the Muses, the Pnyx, and the Nymphs, covering around 850 metres through at least 70 excavation trenches. An extensive publication of the results followed, with detailed descriptions of the fortifications discovered.⁹⁰

Up to this point, the bulk of information about the ancient wall came mainly from the systematic excavations of the foreign archaeological schools in the Kerameikos, the Pnyx and the Agora. Discoveries made during new rescue excavations by the Archaeological Service would prove to be substantial, such as those revealed in 1948 at 7–9 Sapphous street (TH17), where the plan of the *proteichisma* was found to have an unexpected configuration at an obtuse angle, prompting a revision here of Judeich's restoration of the wall line, as noted by Stephanos N. Koumanoudes.⁹¹

In the 1950s, new sections of the Themistoklean wall were uncovered in 21 locations. Archaeological research into the fortifications was at this time being conducted by distinguished scholars of Athenian topography: Ioannis Miliadis Ioannis Threpsiades and John Travlos. Their discoveries were well-received by the Athenian public at the time, within a climate of intense concern about the very evident threat of destruction to the ancient monuments. From a research perspective, the results of these excavations answered key questions about the course of the wall, and enabled John Travlos to write a history of the urban development of the city in his book *Πολεοδομική Έξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, a product of many years' archaeological research in Athens.

The intensity of archaeological research peaked in the 1960s because of the number of buildings being erected. There was a total of 48 excavations of the Themistoklean wall, among them some that helped to define the position of two hitherto unknown

ancient gates, on Apollonos street (TH49) and on Lamachou street (TH57). Since then, new findings have supplemented the interstitial voids along the circuit wall, the majority of them continuations of sections that had already been revealed; but there were also cases where discoveries were made at unexpected locations that deviated from the conjectured course of the wall. We will refer later, for example, to the plot at 15–17 Mitropoleos street (TH49), where excavations revealed a previously unknown pronounced inward curve in the path of the wall just west of Syntagma Square.

In 1971, John Travlos published his *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, which included an updated restored path of the Athenian wall, this time superimposed over a grid-plan of the modern city.⁹² Thirty more excavations of the wall would take place in the 1970s. In 1981, Travlos drafted in his *Bildlexikon zur Topographie des Antiken Attika* a new map taking into account the latest research data (Fig. 30).⁹³ The course of the wall shown is slightly modified from the *Pictorial Dictionary* in at least two areas along the enclosure: one on Klafthmonos square, the other in the area east of Koumoundourou square. Travlos would also add another gate to the Themistoklean wall at the western end of Evripidou street.

Fig. 30: The course of the Themistoklean walls, as drawn in 1981 by John Travlos onto the building blocks of the modern city; a valuable research tool for archaeologists and for the study of Athenian topography. Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29. Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Of the 12 excavations of the wall that took place in the 1980s, 25 in the 1990s, and 11 in the 2000s, most confirmed the previously known course of the fortification. Each new addition, however small, spurred on scientific research and enriched our picture of the form and dating of the wall. In the northern sector, for example, a 25 m. section of the wall revealed in a plot on 5–7–9 Dipylou street (T10) – a continuation of the old excavations in the coterminous plot at 11 Dipylou (TH9) – has allowed a new study of three characteristic phases of masonry: the Themistoklean, Kononian, and that from the end of the 4th century B.C.

We will now examine the discovery of remains of another fortification *peribolos* of Athens, the late Roman interior wall, known from the American excavations as the Post-Herulian Wall, a name stemming from its construction after the raid of the Heruli in

5 The Post-Herulian Wall

A large part of the interior fortification wall of late Roman Athens is preserved north of the Acropolis within the archaeological site of the Agora (Fig. 31). The ruins of this wall have been known to archaeologists since at least 1820, when they were mapped onto the *Plan d'Athènes*.⁹⁴ Its interpretation has also been discussed for a long time, and archaeologists had tried to link the remains with one of the ancient public buildings known to have been situated in the Agora, such as the Metroon, the Tholos, or the Bouleuterion.

Fig. 31: View of the Agora towards the north slope of the Acropolis along the length of the Panathenaic Way and the Post-Herulian Wall (PH2), 1937. Photo courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations, Photographic Collection (neg. 7-257).

Following a proposal of Pittakis in 1851, exploratory excavations began in the Vlassarou neighbourhood, behind the house of Louiza Psoma.⁹⁵ Instead of discovering the foundations of the ancient Bouleuterion, however, a wall emerged that had a north-south orientation and was constructed of a variety of building materials, such as architectural members, sculptures, bases, and numerous inscriptions.⁹⁶ New sections of the same wall were discovered in 1852 in the area south of the Psoma house, near the Christ Church, and it quickly became clear that this wall ran up to the southern part of the Church of the Hypapanti but also towards the newer fortifications near the Acropolis. It was still not possible at that time to determine the northern route of the wall⁹⁷; the Vlassarou district, spanning the area of the Agora, had covered the entire line of the wall.

But when excavations began in 1859 at the Church of the Panagia Pyrgiotissa, whose construction incorporated a tower at the southern end of the Stoa of Attalos, Koumanoudes was able to combine the new findings with those of the excavations from 1851–1852. He suggested that this was a fortified enclosure of the city, and that ‘perhaps all these obviously later buildings were works from one and the same time’.⁹⁸ He associated the wall to a fortification under the Emperor Valerian (A.D. 253–260) on the

basis of ancient sources.⁹⁹ The dismantling of the tower at the Stoa of Attalos continued during 1869–1871, the principal aim being to find and study immured inscriptions.¹⁰⁰

During 1861–1863, new excavations of the wall were carried out under the supervision of Koumanoudes, this time in the Plaka on Erechtheos street and at the ruins of the church of Agios Demetrios Katiphoris, which no longer survive.¹⁰¹ Koumanoudes described the course of this fortification as follows: ‘this was no other building than the fortification line of a wall, and almost certainly the continuation of that by the Pyrgiotissa, which at first from the western end of the Acropolis begins to descend indiscernibly until the Pyrgiotissa to the north and then proceeds up to the north side of the many-doored building [Stoa of Attalos], afterwards it turns thence due east, remaining underground along the line of what is now called Adrianou street behind the Medrese, where it emerges a little, advances eastbound still underground, appears at the house of Chomatianos, there acquiring a height of about five meters, turns to the south and to the northeast side of the Acropolis, disappears after a while and enters into the courtyard of Gaspari’.¹⁰² Koumanoudes guides us along the wall from monument to monument and from neighbourhood to neighbourhood, describing its course at least up to modern Phlessa street (PH25).

Petros Pervanoglu in 1863 believed that the wall continued to the southeast farther on from the area of Agios Demetrios Katiphoris where it ‘turned towards the Street of the Tripods, and then, passing through the Theatre of Dionysos and the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, it joined with the wall of the Acropolis at the point of the Beulé gate’.¹⁰³ These assessments have not been verified. The course of the wall to the east is lost in the area south of Kyrristou street, and we do not have the remains that would securely confirm its route.

Matters are much clearer for the western end of the Post-Herulian wall. Part of this wall was discovered between the northwest corner of the Acropolis and the Areopagos in 1896, while excavations in the following year brought to light a new find near the Klepsydra.¹⁰⁴ But it was still not completely sure whether this was part of the wall ‘which formerly enclosed the spring of the Klepsydra and so connected the Klepsydra with the Acropolis’.¹⁰⁵ That this wall was on the line that reached up to the northwest corner of the Acropolis would not be confirmed until 1938.¹⁰⁶ The

discovery of new sections continued into the 1900s both to the east of the Stoa of Attalos,¹⁰⁷ and further south at the corner of Areiou Pagou street and Polygnotou.¹⁰⁸

Any prospect of systematic excavations on the north slope of the Acropolis came up against serious objections from the property owners in the Vlassarou neighbourhood.¹⁰⁹ The question was finally resolved with the inauguration of systematic excavations of the Agora by the American School of Classical Studies in 1931. These necessitated the first expropriations and demolitions of properties, and archaeological work here gradually revealed the line the Post-Herulian *peribolos*, alongside the foundations of public buildings of the Agora (Fig. 32).¹¹⁰

Fig. 32: The west side of the Agora during the opening of excavations in 1931. View towards the hill of Agoraios Kolonos and the Hephaisteion. Photo courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations, Photographic Collection (neg. 38–92).

Fig. 33: Foundations of tower W6 built in the middle of the Stoa of Attalos (PH2), before their removal in 1949. Photo courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Agora Excavations, Photographic Collection (neg. 1–15).

Two large rectangular towers had already been exposed by the first excavations on the west side of the wall (Fig. 33).¹¹¹ Further sections had been exposed by the late 1930s, from the northwestern foothills of the Acropolis to the Klepsydra.¹¹² In 1959, the wall was comprehensively studied throughout its length across the archaeological sites of the Acropolis and the Agora, with its seven towers (W1–W7) and three gates (the Hypapanti, Christ Church, and Pyrgiotissa gates).¹¹³

Many sections of the Post-Herulian wall have been revealed outside the archaeological site of the Agora. The wall incorporated three exterior walls of the Library of Hadrian – the western, north, and eastern¹¹⁴ – as well as the north wall of the large Roman building, the so-called Pantheon.

Researchers had proposed at least three different possible dates for the Post-Herulian wall (Valerian, Justinianic, or medieval),¹¹⁵ until archaeologists extracted 16 coins from within the mortar of the wall foundations and so were able to date it.

These coins were issued during the reigns of Aurelian (A.D. 270–275), Severina (A.D. 274–275) and Florianus (A.D. 276) up to the reign of Probus (A.D. 276–282). The discovery of a coin of the emperor Maximian (A.D. 286–305) necessitates either moving the date of the wall a few years later, or perhaps indicates instead the point when the building work was completed.¹¹⁶ It is now believed, albeit not without objections, that the construction of the Post-Herulian wall would have been completed around A.D. 300 A.D.¹¹⁷

It has been commonly held since the period of the American excavations that the Post-Herulian wall extended exclusively on the north side of the Acropolis.¹¹⁸ A remarkable discovery in 1980 has provided firm evidence, however, to overturn this hitherto accepted view. During investigations into the Stoa of Eumenes, Manolis Korres dated a wall that was incorporated into the north wall of the Stoa to the 3rd century A.D. and therefore identified it as part of the late Roman defensive system of the southern area.¹¹⁹ According to Korres, the south wall of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, the north wall of the Stoa of Eumenes, and the western part of the retaining wall of the Theatre of Dionysos, were all incorporated into the late Roman fortification; it is primarily to this fact that they owe their survival, whereas the Theatre of Dionysus, which remained outside the fortification *peribolos* of the 3rd century A.D., suffered from the robbing of its stone for building materials.

The Rizokastro was later founded on top of this southern arm of the late Roman wall, forming a new fortification erected around the foot of the Acropolis rock at the end of the first half of the 13th century A.D.¹²⁰ From 1687, this same site functioned as a bastion, known as the Turkish Serpentzé wall. Tasos Tanoulas has argued that the late Roman wall on the south slope of the Acropolis had the same course as the Serpentzé wall, and has described the remains of the late Roman wall at the southernmost part of the Serpentzé's western arm (PH29), which ends at the periphery of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus (PH28).¹²¹

From Pittakis and Koumanoudes to modern scholars, architects and archaeologists, the course of the Post-Herulian wall has been filled in, piece by piece, over a long period of time, as occasional findings came to light. Nevertheless, researchers of late Roman Athens remain occupied by various questions, such as whether the Acropolis functioned as an isolated military fortress, how the two fortification lines of the wall, north and south, were

connected, but also their relation to the fortification of the rock.¹²²

6 Characteristic examples from the history of research into the walls

Three major revisions arose from Judeich's studies and restoration of the course of the Themistoklean wall. The first two clarified the wall's limits to the east and west, while the third involved the integration of the Olympieion within the fortification. As well as following the progression of research on these topics, we will pay particular attention to the uncovering of three major gates of the ancient city: the Piraic, Acharnian and another located on Phalirou street. The following section will examine how these problems were addressed by quoting some of the most pertinent opinions. We begin with the efforts to restore the eastern route of the Themistoklean wall.

The eastern course of the Themistoklean wall

Most scholars after Leake accepted his restorations for the contours of the Themistoklean wall as it stretched to the foot of Lykavittos (Fig. 20).¹²³ In 1841, the German scholar Peter Wilhelm Forchhammer argued in favour of an even greater *peribolos* (Fig. 34).

Fig. 34: The walls of Athens by Peter Wilhelm Forchhammer (1841). To the west they encompass the hills of the Muses (Philopappos), the Pnyx, and the Nymphs (Observatory), and to the south the Stadium and the Ilissos.

In his opinion, the wall enclosed both the Stadium and Ardittos hill, and the Ilissos river flowed through the city.¹²⁴ Forchhammer's extensive version was rejected in 1852 by Ross, who argued that, apart from the fact that we have explicit ancient testimonia that place the Ilissos outside the city, such as Plato (*Phaedrus* 228abc) and Strabo (9.1.24), the existence of such a proposed fortification line would at least have to be verified by preserved traces of foundations.¹²⁵ Thanks to Ross' intervention, the question reverted to a discussion of the issue founded upon the archaeological evidence. Curtius would later concur with Leake's fortification course, which he marked on the map accompanying

his *Attische Studien*.

With such debates in the background, the first discoveries of the eastern part of the fortification to come to light were likely to be identified as parts of the Themistoklean wall. Rangavis, who also closely followed Leake's plan, considered that the remains identified in 1849 on the axis of the Stadium, along the foundation of the enclosure wall of the then Royal Garden, belonged to a Roman construction phase of the Themistoklean wall (V14). Other researchers, however, were opposed to such an interpretation: 'It is no longer acceptable',¹²⁶ Rousopoulos wrote in 1864 in regard to such an eastward course for the Themistoklean wall, as Curtius had restored it. Wachsmuth also expressed the same doubts in 1874 based on the discovery of tombs from various periods along the foundations of the Grande Bretagne hotel on Syntagma square (V7), but also at the Kostis house in Stadiou street (V3).¹²⁷ Finally, in 1877, the Frenchman Burnouf levelled fierce criticism against Curtius, believing that the line of the eastern arm that he had proposed was 'absolutely fanciful'.¹²⁸

The question resurfaced in 1888 when a cluster of ancient Greek and Roman graves were discovered within the plot of the Schliemann house, at today's Karageorgi Servias street (then Mouson street). Dörpfeld had concluded that 'since the graves belonged partly to the Roman and partly to the Greek period, it is demonstrated with certainty that this particular plot is located outside the Themistoklean walls of the city'.¹²⁹ A year later, Lolling also came out in favour of establishing the limit of the eastern Themistoklean arm to the west of Syntagma square,¹³⁰ while Curtius, who had taken into consideration these new discoveries, published a new map in his 1891 monograph *Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, which now depicted a second line further west of the one that he had originally defined as the eastern route of the fortification on his earlier maps. Judeich would then follow this latest opinion of Curtius.

The excavation of the Royal Stables on Stadiou street (V5), conducted between 1926 and 1928, brought to light large sections of an organized ancient cemetery. Semni Karouzou, who had studied the excavated material, noted 'the fact that the burials began to multiply immediately following the Persian wars can be attributed to their proximity to a gate of the wall which was built just after the war under the inspiration of the great Athenian general'.¹³¹ The belief was then solidified that the Themistoklean

wall reached as far as Voulis street, and not further east, and that its course extended to the western side of the Old Parliament building.¹³²

The German Kahrstedt was perhaps the last researcher to insist as late as 1950 that 'the so-called Hadrianic wall [Valerian] was originally built during the Classical period'.¹³³ This idea was definitively disproven in 1956, when the excavation of the fortification moat at Karageorgi Servias street (TH43) confirmed that the Themistoklean wall passed west of Syntagma Square. Towards the end of the 1950s, physical evidence of the Themistoklean wall itself would finally emerge in this eastern area of the city: the demolition of old houses in 1959 in a plot at 15–17 Mitropoleos street (TH49) – a block between Voulis, Mitropoleos, Apollonos and Pentelis streets – and the excavations that followed led to the unexpected discovery of a change in the course of the Themistoklean wall from that restored on Judeich's map. The new findings suggested a sharp inner curving of the wall arcing to the west. This discovery finally closed the question of the Themistoklean circuit's eastern route, which had occupied many of the great archaeologists of the day for at least a century.

The western course of the Themistoklean wall

Most old maps of Athens depict the western course of the Themistoklean wall stretching along the ridges of the three hills west of the Acropolis, the hills of the Muses, the Pnyx and the Nymphs. Many scholars, however, since the late 18th and early 19th century, such as Barbié du Bocage, Servois, Dodwell and Hawkins, had expressed serious objections to the accuracy of such a restoration, arguing that the wall at the top of the western hills belonged not to the Themistoklean line, but to another fortification course dated to the period of Demetrios Poliorketes. The Themistoklean course should therefore be sought further westward so as to include the three hills, and was represented as such by Barbié du Bocage (Fig. 17). This view was adopted in 1841 by Forchhammer, who plotted the Themistoklean wall with a very large route that enclosed the entire slopes of the hills (Fig. 34).¹³⁴ Despite all this, the majority of subsequent scholars and cartographers adopted Curtius' western course for the Themistoklean wall,¹³⁵ which placed it along the rocky spine of the

western ranges.

The question was revived in 1888 by Rangavis, who insisted that the surviving remains along the crest of the hills did not belong 'to this ephemeral Demetrian fortification', because of the careful masonry of the whole construction.¹³⁶ A year later, Lolling chronologically separated the Themistoklean wall from the later wall along the ridges, which he speculated belonged to the period of Konon.¹³⁷ Judeich was confident in 1905 that the entire western slope of the Pnyx hill was protected for the most part within the Themistoklean circuit; he furthermore provided the evidence that he saw sufficient traces of the wall to the southwest of the hill of the Muses, and mapped the Themistoklean course to include the western foothills of the three hills (Fig. 5).¹³⁸ Thus, the blocks of the ancient wall that were depicted on the maps of Curtius-Kaupert and Judeich climbing up to the continuation of the North Long Wall to the south of the *barathron*,¹³⁹ and in the direction of the Observatory, were recognized thereafter as sections of the Themistoklean wall. The quarrying of rocks at the *barathron* over many decades led, however, to the complete disappearance of any trace of this fortification.¹⁴⁰

The exact position of the join between the Themistoklean wall and the *diateichisma* on top of the hill of the Nymphs remains uncertain, as the construction of the Observatory building and works in the surrounding area must have destroyed parts of these walls.¹⁴¹ Nevertheless, excavations by Thompson and Scranton in 1936–1937 definitively proved that the *diateichisma* does not belong to the Themistoklean fortification and, based on the identified remains of the Themistoklean wall at the western foothills of the hills of the Nymphs and the Muses,¹⁴² Judeich's view that the western course of the Themistoklean wall included the hills to the west of the Acropolis was verified. Today, the western course of the Themistoklean wall in the area of Ano Petralona has not yet been linked with any published physical evidence and remains to be explored by future excavations.

The question of the incorporation of the Olympieion

One research question that has been debated for some time is whether the temple of Olympian Zeus was protected within the

Themistoklean circuit wall or not. When the wall was built in 479/8 B.C., the construction of the Olympieion had reached only as far as the stylobate, as the dipteral poros temple dating from the reign of Peisistratos in the second quarter of the 6th century B.C. had been left unfinished following the overthrow of the tyranny.¹⁴³

Regardless of any negative political connotations the Athenians might have attached to this site, the area had constituted a place of worship since very ancient times (Thuc. 2.15.4), and we might assume that such a place would not remain unprotected when the city acquired its new walls – indeed the relief of the terrain supports the strategic benefits of such a choice.¹⁴⁴

Rangavis thought it likely that the course of the Themistoklean wall left the Olympieion outside of its limits,¹⁴⁵ but Curtius believed that protection of the Olympieion within the walls would be imperative, and so his map drawn in 1862 included the temple within the circuit (see Fig. 22).¹⁴⁶ About the same time, Pervanoglu criticized Curtius, expressing reservations about the specific direction that the wall took in this area, principally focusing upon the morphology of the Olympieion terrain.¹⁴⁷ Leaving aside these evaluations, the prevailing academic opinion of the late 19th century about whether to include the Olympieion or not within the Themistoklean wall was dictated by two major figures: Dörpfeld and Lolling.¹⁴⁸ Their conviction was that the Olympieion was clearly outside the limits of the Themistoklean wall, their main argument being that the course of the wall should follow the orientation of the Arch of Hadrian.

In the middle of the 1880s, the curiosity of scholars was piqued by a remarkable archaeological find whose connection with the Themistoclean wall would only be recognised many decades later. The occasion of this revelation was the laying out of Vasilissis Olgas avenue in 1886, which was to head towards the northeast corner of the Olympieion precinct. The Archaeological Society intervened with the Ministry of Education just in time and demanded that the road works cease because of the archaeological importance of the area. The excavation that was then carried out revealed the north wall of the Olympieion precinct, while an ‘exceedingly puzzling’¹⁴⁹ ancient building came to light northwest of the propylon of the temple (Fig. 35, TH61).

Fig. 35: Plan with semi-circular sections of column drums (left, inside dotted lines) which came from the half-finished Archaic

temple of Olympian Zeus. Discovered in 1886 north of the peribolos and west of the propylon of the temple. Koumanoudes (1888) pl. 1.

It was built of materials in secondary use, including some poros column drums which, according to Koumanoudes, Dörpfeld recognized as being 'of equal size to those making up the foundations [lower drums] of the marble columns of the Olympieion'.¹⁵⁰ It was still too early to formulate any hypothesis about the identity of the structure incorporating these poros drums.

The greatest difficulty faced by researchers in understanding the relationship of the temple to the walls was the inexplicable absence of remains of the Themistoklean enclosure in the area around the temple.¹⁵¹ Judeich nevertheless mapped out his own course of the Themistoklean wall to the west of the east precinct wall of the temple (Fig. 27). Apart from noting the archaeological remains of the wall in the area southeast of the Olympieion, and also the presence of numerous tombs north of the temple, he formulated his proposal principally by studying the morphology of the area: the level of the plateau on which the Olympieion stood, in its earlier form, naturally created an angled bulge, and such a strategic position would be unlikely to remain unutilized by the designers of the Themistoklean circuit.¹⁵² Judeich linked the inclusion of the Olympieion to Thucydides' testimony that 'the circuit of the city was extended in every direction' (1.93.2). He argued that the Arch of Hadrian stood on the site of a gate of the pre-Themistoklean walls and considered it reasonable that the Themistoklean wall then enclosed the gate within its limits.¹⁵³

The answer to the question of the incorporation of the Olympieion was only resolved in the 1950s with investigations by Travlos in the area north of the precinct. During a landscaping study for the area around the temple, a cleaning operation was begun in 1956 at the archaeological site. Northeast of the propylon of the Olympieion, an extremely interesting feature was revealed: half-finished column drums of the Peisistratid Olympieion that had been discarded in the fortification ditch. Travlos and Vanderpool suggested that the drums were initially built into the Themistoklean wall and that perhaps during the time of Hadrian there was an attempt to cut through them; however, because the reuse of the stones proved impossible, they were abandoned and

left partially segmented.¹⁵⁴ Travlos' investigations additionally brought to light the immured drums (Fig. 36, TH61) that had been discovered during the old excavations of 1886 and which Koumanoudes had not then been able to interpret. He now proved that they had been built into a tower of a Themistoklean gate.¹⁵⁵ With the discovery of the foundations of the Themistoklean gate the integration of the Olympieion within the walls was definitively clarified and Judeich was proven correct in his hypotheses based upon evidence from Thucydides.¹⁵⁶

Fig. 36: The excavation of John Travlos (1956–1959) proved that the semi-circular sections of column drums were built into a gate of the Themistoklean walls (TH61). Travlos (1971), fig. 222. Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Locating the Piraic gate

Remains of the Athenian fortifications were always visible on the road connecting the Piraeus with the northwest side of the city, in a position near the junction of today's Erysichthonos and Irakleidon streets in Theseio.¹⁵⁷ They were first noted on maps as the remains of a gate by Stuart (1751–1753) and Fauvel (1787–1789) and later by Curtius (1868) and von Strantz. The gate was originally called the Dipylon, while the majority of travellers had identified the Piraic gate further to the south, in the hollow formed between the hills of the Muses and the Pnyx, next to the church of Agios Demetrios Loubardiaris. Pittakis was the first, in 1835, to give the name Piraic to the gate south of the Sacred gate and near the hill with the church of Agios Athanasios Kourkouris.¹⁵⁸ Nonetheless, foundations of the gate were identified only in the 1980s; for this reason, its research history deserves to be traced.

The maps of Kleanthis and Schaubert (1831–1832), but also of Curtius and von Strantz (1868), depict a series of visible remains of the wall, including a semi-circular tower (TH112). These stretches extend from the northern slope of the hill of the Nymphs to the Dipylon in the Kerameikos, although the ruins of the gate itself were not marked with clarity. Research began to address the position of the gate during configuration works of the road leading to Piraeus, using the discovery of tombstones, whose position determined the zone surrounding the walls. Pittakis discovered inscribed stelai in 1861 'on the Piraic road near the area

now called Plati Phrear',¹⁵⁹ and also 'to the south of the Dipylon, during levelling works of the Piraic road'.¹⁶⁰ This information provided the basis for Judeich's 1905 study, in which he located the ancient gate in relation to earlier cartographic observations of the foundations of the semi-circular tower, but he also clarified that he could not determine the position of the gate with any accuracy.¹⁶¹

In the early 20th century, Noack found that the extensive construction within the Theseio area threatened to destroy the surviving ancient traces. In his attempt to locate the course of the wall, as well as the position of the gate, Noack wanted to document what was still left intact, and carried out excavations on Irakleidon and Erysichthonos streets.¹⁶² At their junction he unearthed a section of the wall (Fig. 37), while to the southwest of this discovery he revealed another strong wall with a width of 5.40 m. (Fig. 38); he doubted, however, that he had actually identified parts of the Piraic gate, ruling out the possibility of an ancient road leading from this point because of the natural hollow of the ground. The answer was in fact hiding just a few meters further north.

Fig. 37: Excavation of the Themistoklean wall at Erysichthonos street (TH115) in 1906. In the background is Irakleidon street. Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, neg. D-DAI-ATH-Athen Bauten 356.

Fig. 38: Excavation in 1906 on Irakleidon street (TH114). The outer face of the *proteichisma* can be seen on the right, with the transverse buttress that strengthened it in the centre. In the background and to the left uphill is Erysichthonos street, which crossed Irakleidon. The excavation was carried out at the site depicted in Fig. 37, back right; for today's preservation, see Fig. 122. Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, neg. D-DAI-ATH-Athen Bauten 374.

Despite extensive archaeological research and Noack's discoveries, the solution was still uncertain in 1953 'because the definition of the wall was not safe, nor the position of the Piraic gates certain', as Threpsiades wrote.¹⁶³ In that year, during an excavation in front of 18 Erysichthonos street, remains were uncovered which Threpsiades thought to be the side of a tower (TH113). The foundations led him to hypothesise that this was a tower matching

Noack's discoveries of 1906. He considered that archaeological investigations had revealed two towers built on either side of the sought-after Piraic gate, and announced the identity of the gate at the junction of Irakleidon and Erysichthonos streets.¹⁶⁴ The truth lay very nearby, but was still not precisely understood.¹⁶⁵

The first real trace of the ancient gate came to light in 1965 on the plot at 15 Erysichthonos (TH118). Travlos recognized here the northern side of a gate, noting: 'Even though the excavation is not fully documented, the identification of the Piraic gate in the area under investigation, both from the form of the construction and the exposure of part of an ancient road leading from Piraeus to this gate, suggests, in my view, that this is the Piraic gate'.¹⁶⁶ The continuation of the remains of the Piraic gate was uncovered in 1982 in the neighbouring plot at 50 Irakleidon street (TH117), east of older excavation at 15 Erysichthonos. The discovery of an ancient gate at this site confirmed the earlier view of Pittakis in determining the position of the Piraic gate in the area of Agios Athanasios Kourkouris.

Locating the Acharnian gate

The position of the so-called Acharnian gate was first established by Stuart at the northern edge of the ancient city. The remains of the gate were still visible during his time, and the position marked on his map (see Fig. 16, upper centre) served as a guide for later scholars looking for the gate. The oldest available evidence for excavations in the area of the gate come from the early 19th century, conducted by anonymous British travellers digging with Fauvel in 1811, as he notes in his manuscripts.¹⁶⁷ At that time, the location of the gate was generally considered to be known. We learn from Pittakis, for example, that in 1817 'Ernestis the pharmacist from Rome, excavating by the Acharnian gate, unearthed a wonderful relief'.¹⁶⁸ Pittakis himself discovered many funerary inscriptions between 1819 and 1855 in the area of the Acharnian gate.¹⁶⁹ These discoveries were often associated with excavations for the foundations of houses in this newly-built eastern district of Athens.

Ross, in 1837 and 1841, also discovered funerary inscriptions in the area of the ancient gate (which he believed to be the Melitides gate), and he thought that its position was located at the

Domnados house on the corner of modern Aioulou and Georgiou Stavrou streets.¹⁷⁰ A little later, in 1857, another funerary stele came to light, collected by Pittakis 'by the ancient Acharnian Gate, in northern part of Athens, not far from the second theatre now under construction',¹⁷¹ i.e., the Municipal Theatre of Athens, at the then People's Square (Plateia tou Laou) (now Ethnikis Antistaseos or Kotzia Square).¹⁷² Therefore, because of the cemetery that stretched south of Georgiou Stavrou street, the assumed position of the gate had to be moved slightly further south, closer to Sophokleous street. Indeed, a first brief reference was made in 1877 to 'traces of a gate'¹⁷³ that surfaced during excavations on Aioulou street conducted near the house of Anargyros Petrakis, the first mayor of Athens, which was built at the northeast corner of Aioulou and Sophokleous streets.¹⁷⁴

Excavations at 6 Sophokleous street (TH30) in the plot a National Bank of Greece building during 1929–1930 revealed a stretch of the Valerian fortification just opposite the modern Stoa Pappou: '[the Wall] emerged exactly at the edge of the pavement of Sophokleous street and slightly diverging away from the road ..., from top to bottom [to the south]'.¹⁷⁵ Despite the fact that the gate itself was not identified during excavations at 6 Sophokleous street, the investigation came closer to its real position, and it was now apparent to Judeich that it should be sought on the line of the wall found at 6 Sophokleous and close to Aioulou street.¹⁷⁶ Having studied the works of the travellers and their maps, he became convinced that 'The strong hollow supposed by Stuart north of the Acharnian gate cannot be reconciled with the traces of grave finds, and is probably due to an error. Stuart may not have known the actual remains of the gate'.¹⁷⁷

In the early 1960s, excavations on Aioulou street revealed part of the ancient roadside cemetery that lay along the arterial road to Acharnai, along with abundant grave goods, particularly of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.¹⁷⁸ However, the exact point of the wall to which this ancient road led had still to be ascertained. The remains of the ancient fortification themselves were identified from an excavation in 1974 on the plot of the National Bank of Greece (TH29) adjacent to the building at 6 Sophokleous street (TH 30). The discoveries included parts of the *proteichisma*, the trench of the moat and its retaining walls, but also sections of two ring roads of the fortifications. Parts of the main wall were only found in their Valerian phase, while no architectural remains of the

Themistoklean gate itself were preserved, only some cuttings in the rock.¹⁷⁹

The foundations of a circular construction were also discovered during excavations in 1974 on the road that crossed the gate and in the area through which the hypothetical line of the wall passed. These remains were then identified as a tower of the Themistoklean gate, and for a long time the unnecessary interruption of the arterial road remained unexplained. The problem was resolved, however, in 1998 following a supplementary excavation on the same plot ahead of the construction of a new administrative building of the National Bank of Greece, when the earlier interpretations were disproven; the circular building was found to be of a later date and was without any connection to the fortification. At the foundations of this building, the wheel-ruts were observed where passing wagons had marked the ancient road as they crossed through the gate. The conclusion was reached that the ditch of the moat was suspended to form a strip of land for the crossing road to pass; this road certainly continued to the gate, which must have been oriented towards Acharnai.

From the initial theories about the location and name of the ancient gate up until its eventual archaeological documentation during investigations in 1998, the case of the so-called Acharnian gate went through many hypotheses and revisions. The remains of the gate itself are not preserved, but thanks to numerous archaeological discoveries of the fortification in the area its position can be restored. The story of the conservation of the fortification remains on Aioulou street will be explored in Chapter 6.

Locating the Phaleric gate

The history of research into the Themistoklean gate on the Phaleron road again begins at the time of Fauvel, in the late 18th century, who refers in his manuscripts to 'the gate of Phaleron'.¹⁸⁰ He bestowed this name on the ruins of a gate visible on the same road that ran through the corresponding gate of the Haseki wall (Fig. 18).¹⁸¹ In 1862, Curtius determined the position of the gate 'about 330 steps south of the Military Hospital [Weiler building], where now three roads diverge',¹⁸² corresponding to the current Veikou, Dimitrakopoulou and Phalirou streets.

Another relevant archaeological report confirming visible remains came out in 1867, which presented antiquities that came to light during roadworks for Phalirou street. Pervanoglu announced important discoveries for the topography of Athens: blocks along a total length of about 8 m. extending the full width of Phalirou street, while the middle part of the structure was identified as a gateway, 2.10 m. wide, and 1.80 m. in thickness.¹⁸³ Among these blocks was the inscription IG II² 2331, which refers to a private initiative to construct a tower (see p. 41). The findspot of the inscription and its content led Pervanoglu to conclude that the reported tower belongs 'to the city wall and possibly even the one located a few steps east of the gate that Curtius had marked on his map' (Fig. 22, lower left).¹⁸⁴ However, Pervanoglu's ambiguous reference concerning the form of the remains on Phalirou street has not proven helpful in more accurately determining the position of the gate or its appearance; nor can we know what serious damage was inflicted on those ancient foundations by land-levelling works at that time on Phalirou street.

We do, however, have an entry in the diary of Panagiotis Efstratiades that mentions the destruction in 1871 by Dr. Anastasios Goudas of part of the ancient wall that passed through his field, which extended between the old Military Hospital (Weiler Building) and the Ilissos: this damaged part is attested as belonging to a tower of the southern arm of the fortification.¹⁸⁵ Goudas left some 55 stones of the wall exposed around the foundations of the tower and moved 35 others to the city to sell off for building material; he was tried and acquitted but later, through the persistent activities of the Archaeological Society, an appeal was made to the Areios Pagos court against the acquittal judgment, which was successfully overturned.¹⁸⁶ The remains of this section of the *peribolos* remained alongside Phalirou street in 1873, and Dyer testified that he then saw 'evident traces of the ancient wall'.¹⁸⁷ But these blocks were probably soon sold off, because, as Efstratiades noted, Goudas had negotiated with the Ministry to sell them for building materials.

Remains that had until this point been identified as belonging to the gate were judged ambiguous by Judeich in 1905.¹⁸⁸ Meanwhile, new construction in the area would bring about radical changes in the condition of the ruins. Confirmation of the preserved remains of the gate was no longer possible in 1913, when Weller raised serious concerns about its exact position,¹⁸⁹

while in 1931 Judeich again referred to 'doubtful remains of a gate'.¹⁹⁰ The few ancient traces that had survived were destroyed by the stone robbing that kept pace with the urban development on the south side of the Acropolis, especially after 1900.

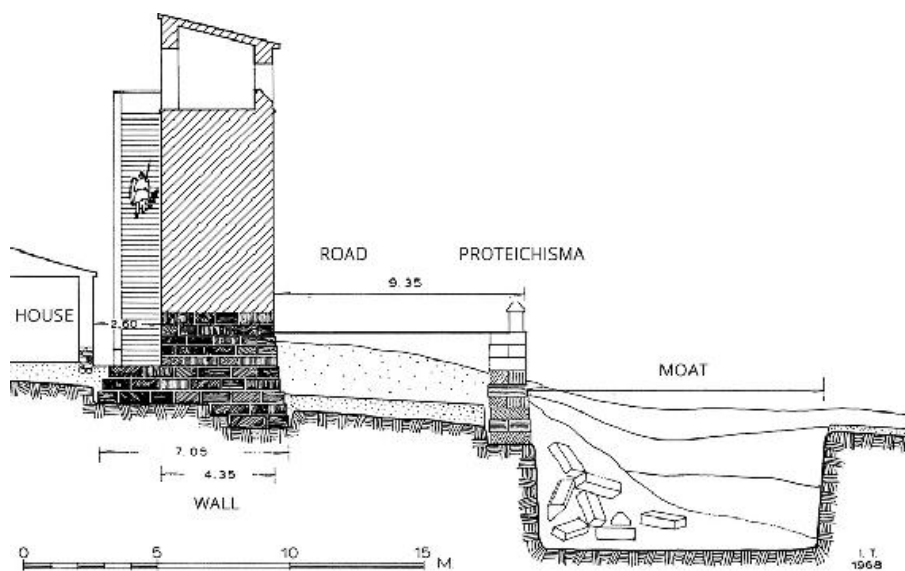
Ioannis Threpsiades conducted exploratory excavations in 1953 to locate the gate under the modern road at the intersection of Phalirou and Donta streets, but did not achieve his aim.¹⁹¹ Two later excavations north of Phalirou street (TH83, TH84) revealed parts of the *proteichisma*, indicating the direction and hypothetical route of the main wall built parallel to the *proteichisma*; evidence for the gateway itself, however, was again illusive. We do not know whether there still lies under Phalirou street any preserved remains of those finds investigated by Pervanoglu in 1867, nor if other traces of a gate survive on either side of the road. An as yet unpublished excavation was recently carried out in the foundations of an old house built at the southern corner of Donta and Phalirou streets; it is expected to have brought to light fortification elements pertaining to the construction of a gate.

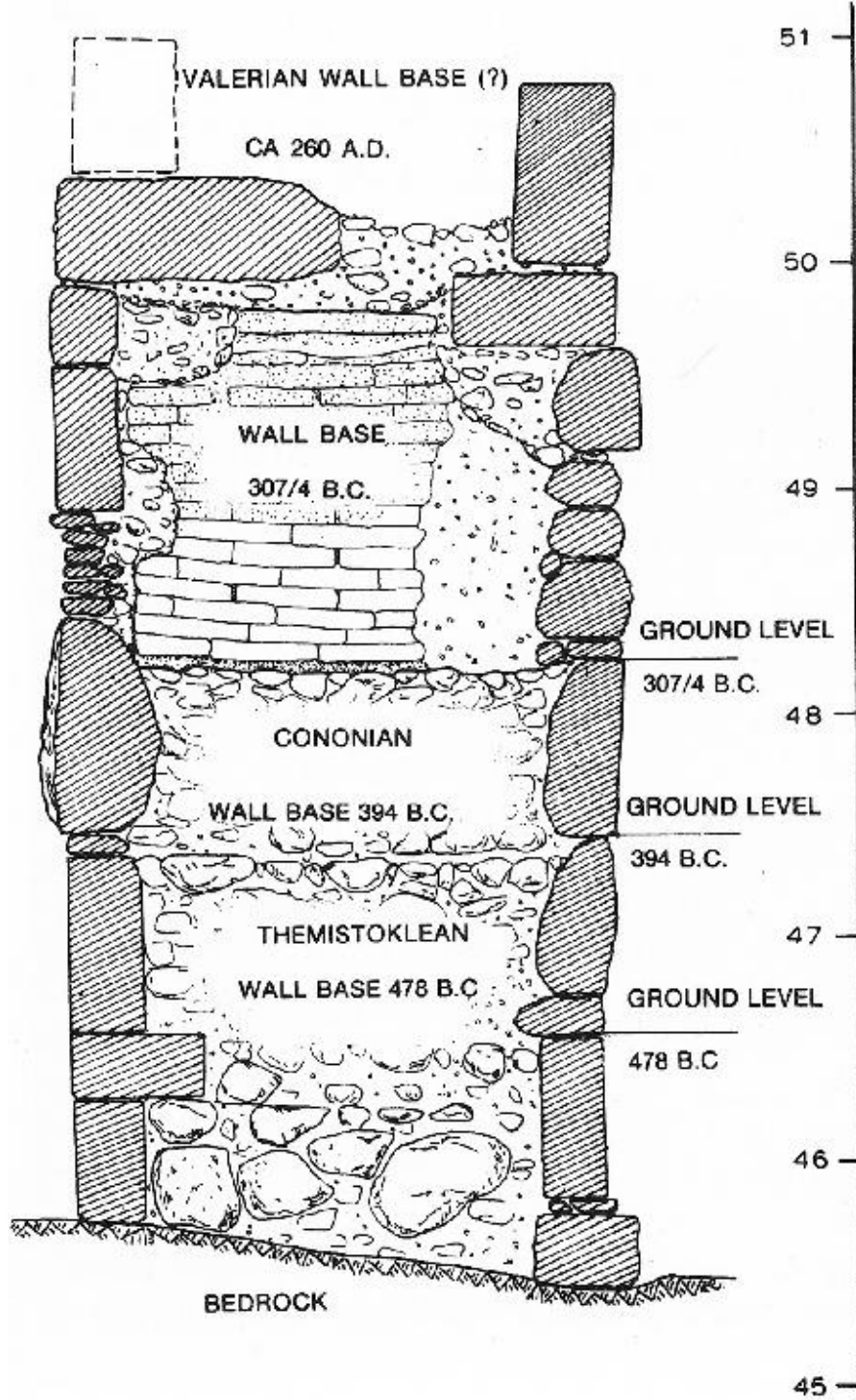
7 Summary

Remains of the walls of Athens came to light through archaeological research over a period of around 170 years, conducted by some of the key figures among Greek and foreign archaeologists. The search for the Themistoklean wall relied initially on the correlation of the positions of graves to the fortification, and then continued with the discovery of sections of the walls themselves, the first being at the Kerameikos archaeological site. Chance discoveries, meanwhile, were gradually identified in parallel with the urban growth of the city, providing Curtius and Kaupert with the necessary material to present a restoration of the walls of Athens based on archaeological data. In the early 20th century, the bounds of the Themistoklean wall were determined in the east and west sides of the city, to a great extent through the systematic work of Judeich, while rescue excavations would from the 1930s and later determine more accurately the original course of the circuit in its various phases. The peak of excavation work occurred in the 1960s and 1970s, providing new supplementary information about the wall and its course. All this accumulated knowledge was incorporated into a restored plan in the maps of Travlos, which remain key tools of archaeological

research.

The course of the wall is a subject from which we can explore other issues, such as the location of the ancient gates, to which we will turn in Chapter 5. The following chapter will proceed with the description of the elements of the fortification and their proposed construction periods, examined through the study both of written sources and excavated finds.

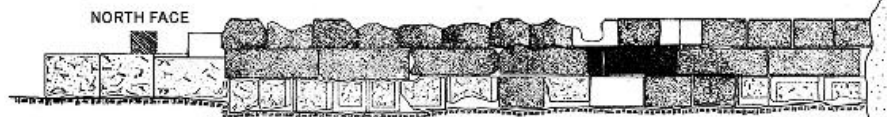








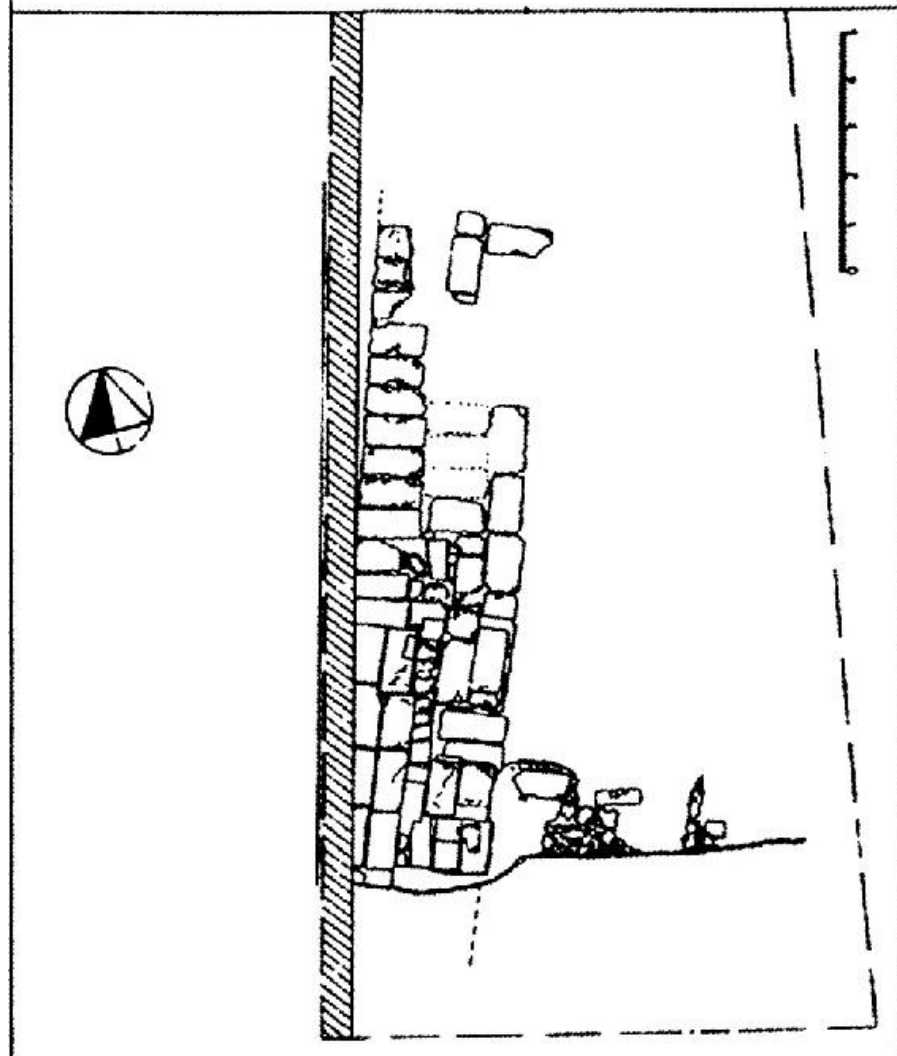
NORTH FACE



SOUTH FACE



POULOPOULOU STREET

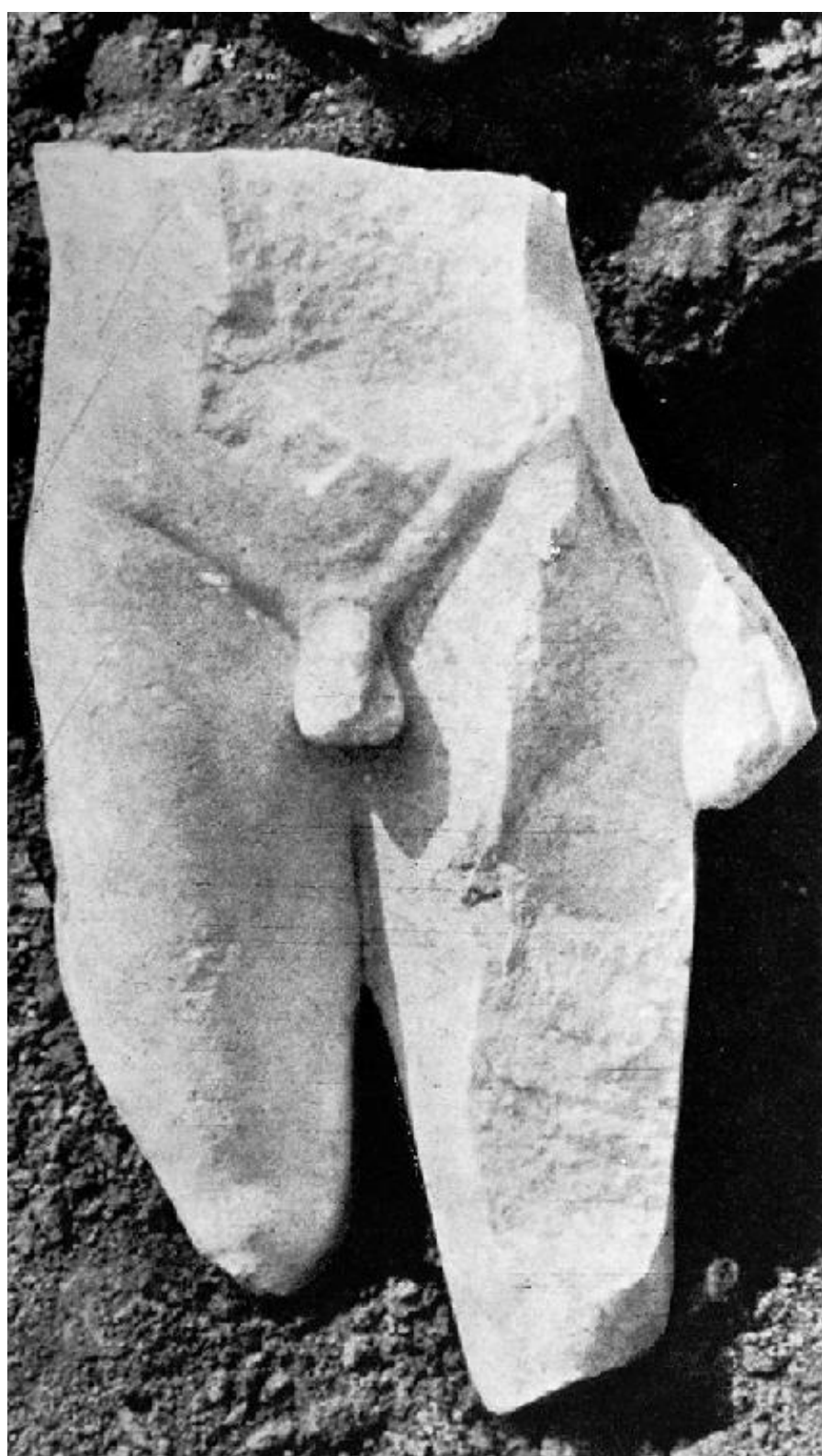


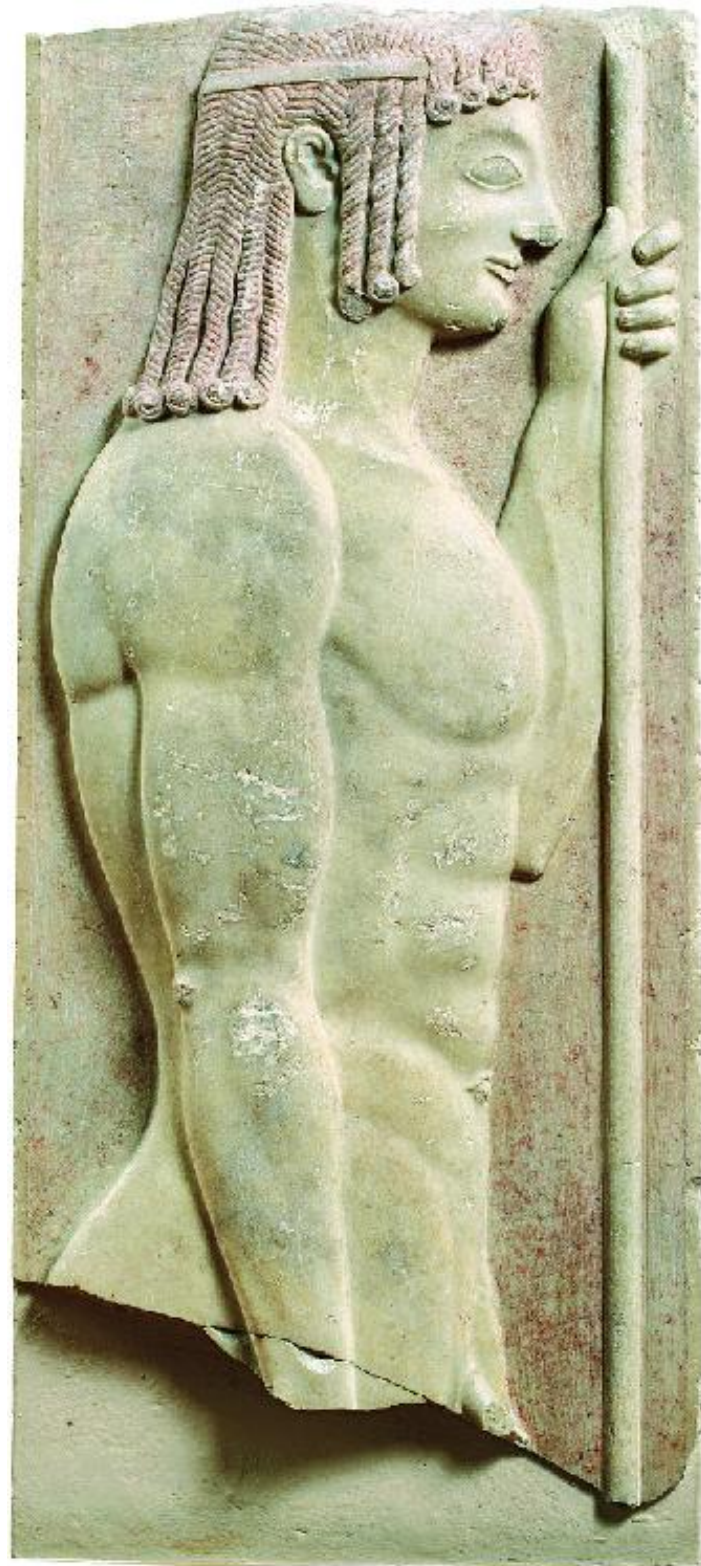








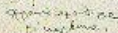






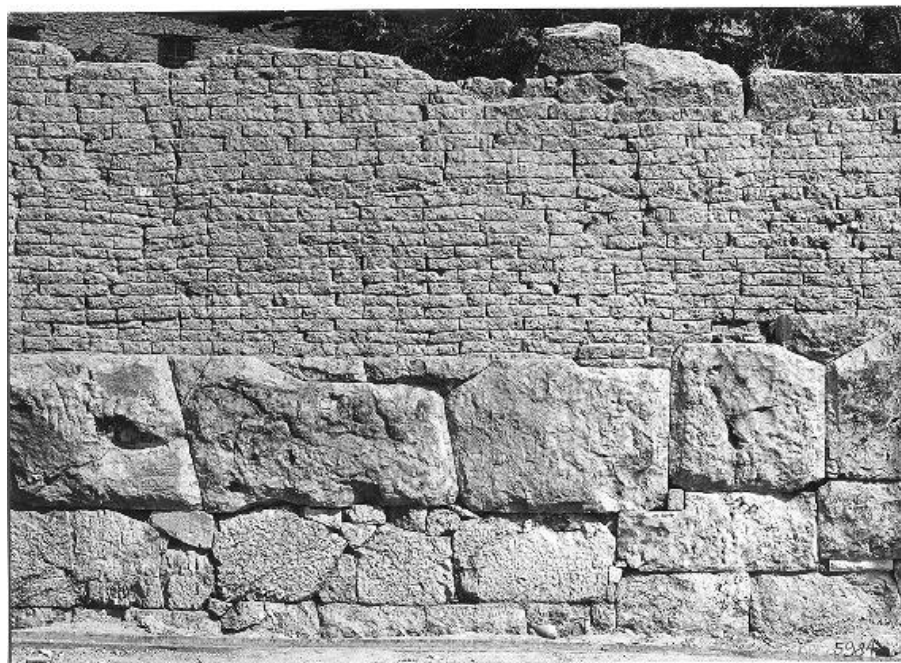






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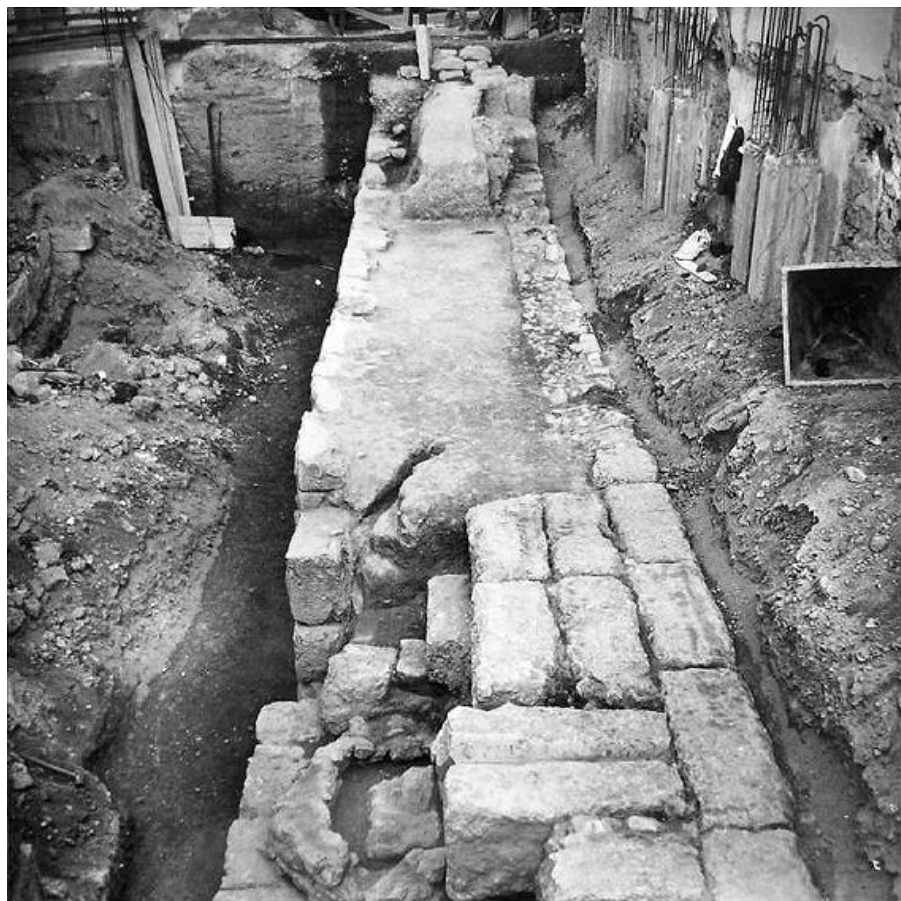


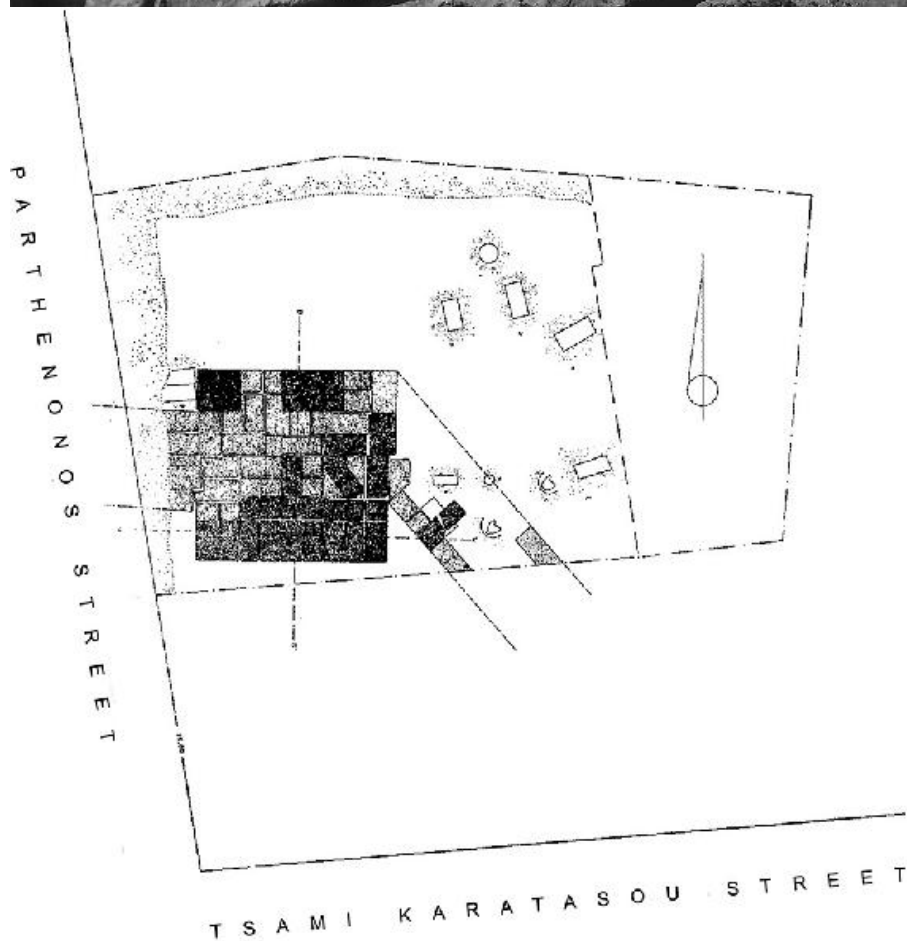






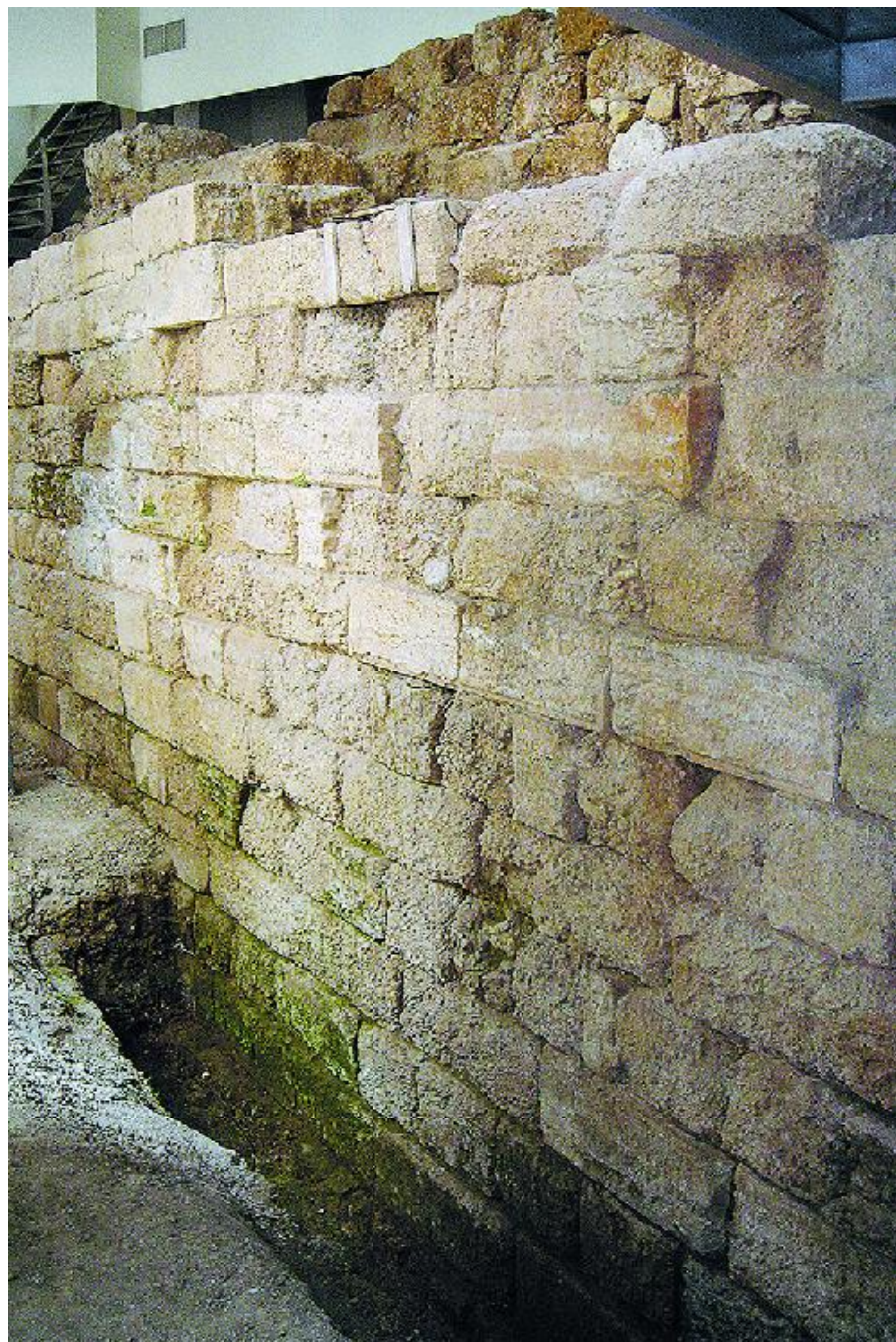


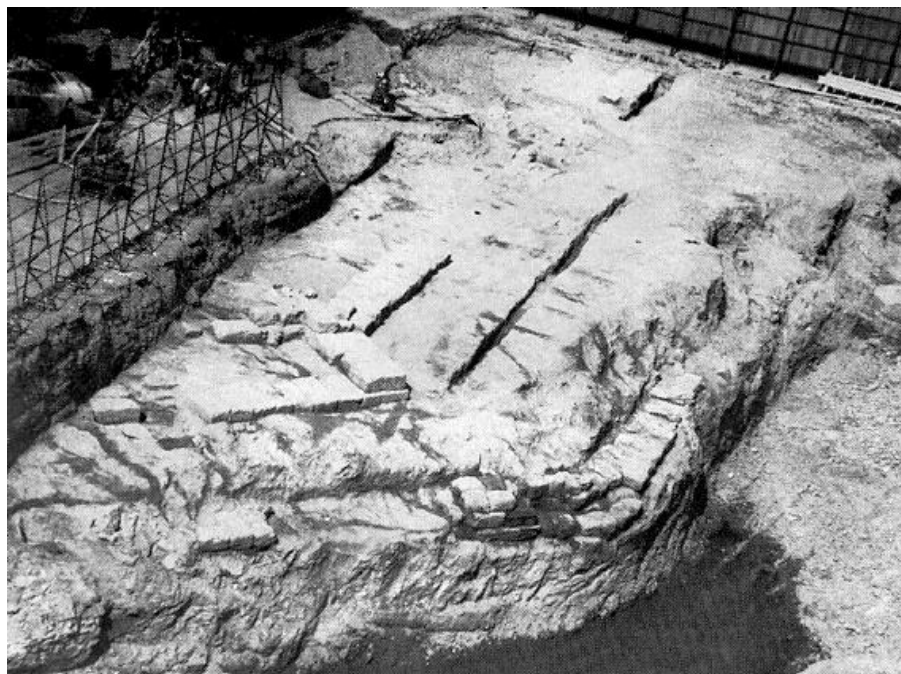


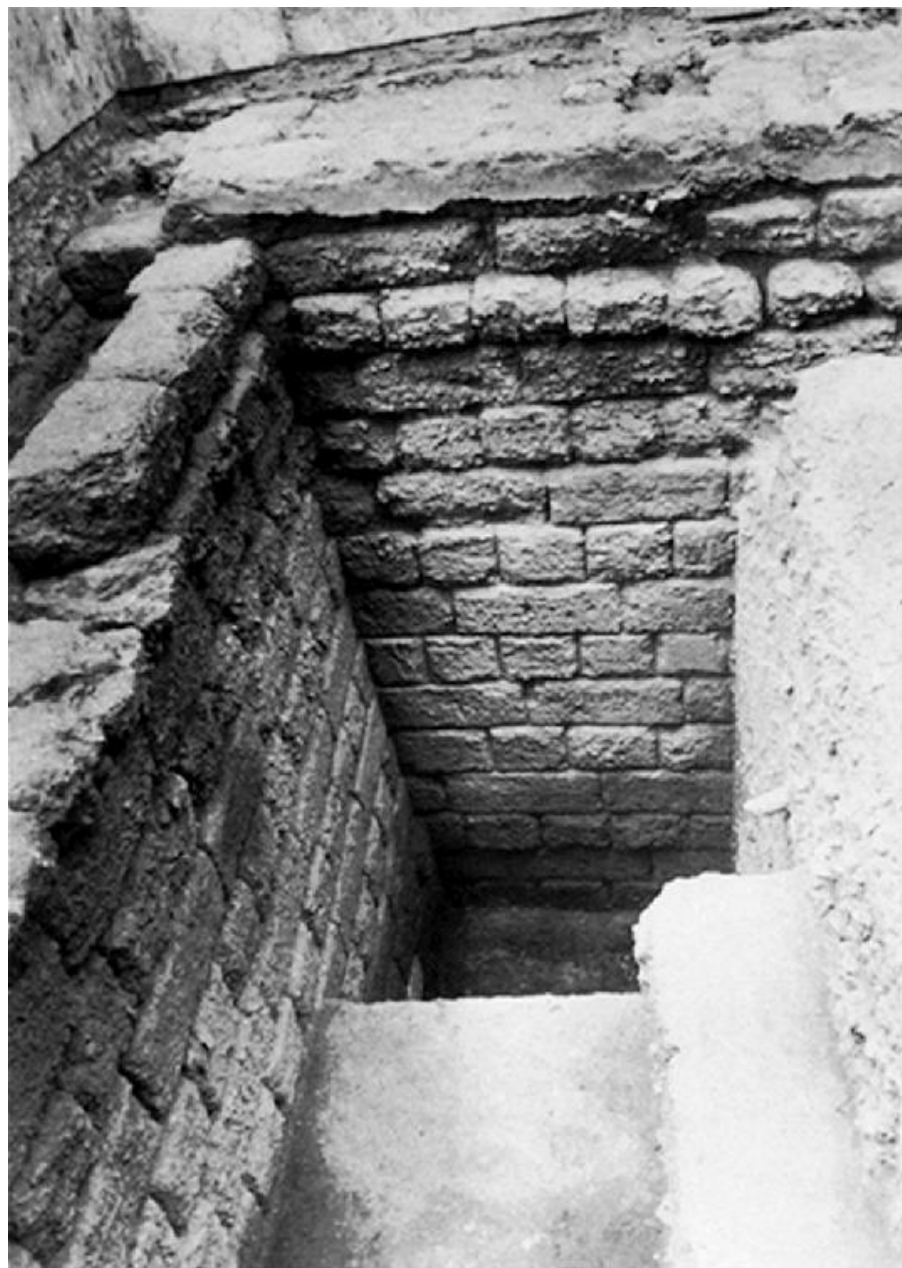




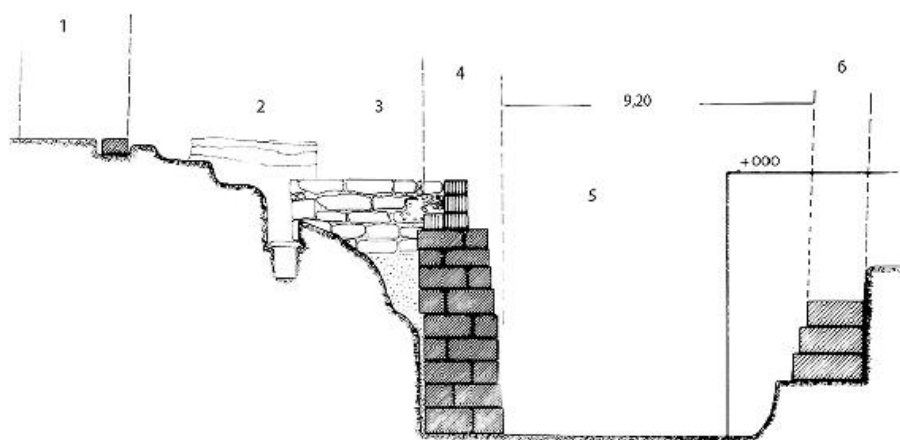


















4 The Structure of the Walls

οὐχ ὅτι τείχη μόνον περιβλητέον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων ἐπιμελητέον,
ὅπως καὶ πρὸς κόσμον ἔχη τῇ πόλει πρεπόντως καὶ πρὸς τὰς
πολεμικὰς χρείας...

Aristotle, *Politics* 7.1331a¹

The Athenians ensured that the walls of their city were effectively maintained at least up until the invasion of Sulla in 87/6 B.C., as many ancient sources testify. But what was the structure of the fortification and its constituent elements, and what architectural form did these projects take, over which such immense human effort was expended throughout the centuries, so that in each period they reached such a height to adequately defend the city? And what correlations are there between the historical testimonies from written sources and those elements of the fortifications revealed by excavations?

Our chief source of archaeological information to help answer these questions is to be found in the excavation reports published in the *Archaiologikon Deltion*, the journal of the Archaeological Service. Additional material has been derived from the plans and drawings of the personal archive of John Travlos, kept at the Archaeological Society. To these research tools we have also added assessments from personal observations of those sections of the fortification still visible, and indeed visitable, that have been protected and conserved by the state.

The sites under investigation that were either identified or excavated in building plots and along the roads of the city have been charted through their published archaeological publications up to 2012. Starting from the excavations of the Kerameikos (TH1) and following the walls in a clockwise direction, all the discoveries of the fortifications have been assigned code numbers (TH1, TH2, etc.): the letters of the codes refer to the circuits of the wall, the routes of which will be described in detail below (see pp. 226–232), while the numbers relate to the individual successive plots or other locations through which the line of the wall crossed (TH1–TH124, V1–V17, V18–V22, PH1–PH30). In the back cover of the book, a map of the Athenian city walls depicts the total number of its recovered physical remains.

These locations are divided into the four circuits of the wall and are classified into summary reports that constitute the Catalogue of Sites of the fortifications (see pp. 318–410). The title

of each report carries either the name of the monument that borders the position of the wall, or the names and numbers of streets where the archaeological investigations took place. The report fields contain the most relevant data pertaining to the research conducted into the archaeological material concerned. The Catalogue of Sites aims to provide the reader with basic information about the archaeological interventions and their results, forming a resource that can be utilised across several research topics related to the fortifications.

The principal elements of the Athenian fortification are the wall, the gates and the towers. The *proteichisma* and the defensive moat constitute outworks placed in front of the line of these structures (Fig. 39).

Fig. 39: Cross-section of the fortification elements of the Athenian walls. From left to right: the main wall with stairs leading up to the parapet, the extramural ring-road, the *proteichisma*, and the moat; stones of the *proteichisma* have fallen into the area of the moat (plan of John Travlos). Travlos (1971) 176, fig. 228. Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

We will first briefly attempt to reconstruct the general characteristics of these elements of the fortification (4.1), while the more specific details, such as the type of construction, dimensions, the building materials and masonry styles, will be discussed under each building period (4.2).

1 The structure of the fortification

The Wall

The circuit wall consisted of a stone base, around 3 m. thick, and a superstructure of mud-brick; the principal element of the wall's structure was therefore clay, hence Plato's description of the walls as 'made of earth' (*Laws* 778e). There are three principal structural types that can be discerned for the wall's stone base: a form with two faces, consisting of two parallel walls of masonry, the space between them packed with layers of rough stones mixed with working chips and earth or clay; a base entirely of stone blocks throughout the whole thickness of the structure, and up to a considerable height; and, finally, a jointing of the two faces with

transverse cross-walls placed between them at regular intervals.²

During each reconstruction of the double-faced wall, the new stone base was built on top of the previous one, following the removal of the earlier mud-brick wall. The builders elevated the two older exterior faces and added a thick layer of stones of varying sizes, stone chips and earth or clay to the space between them; the whole surface of the base was then levelled flat and the new brick wall built on top of it (Fig. 40). The wall visible today in the Kerameikos archaeological site is the result of excavations of all the stone bases of the wall built above the 5th century B.C. level (see Figs. 24, 41).

Fig. 40: Cross-section of the Themistoklean wall at the Kerameikos (TH1, 1a) with the outer faces and inner fill of the core. The building phases correspond to the respective ground levels. Knigge (1991) 52, pl. 51. (Drawing by Gottfried Gruben).

The *proteichisma*

The defensive capabilities of the main wall were reinforced by the *proteichisma*, a strong outer fortification of lesser thickness (Fig. 39). It functioned as a retaining wall for the inner side of the moat and supported the ring road running between the wall and the *proteichisma*. The existence of the *proteichisma* was a serious obstacle for siege towers and battering rams approaching the main wall; it forced an invader to advance with these heavy machines across a causeway that needed to be built up to the ground level above the moat and at a height that would cover the *proteichisma*.³

The moat

A defensive moat up to 11 m. deep and 12.5 m. wide at its greatest extent surrounded the *proteichisma* and followed its course, its form dependent on the hardness of the underlying bedrock (Fig. 39). The maintenance of very wide moat was an important matter, particularly during the Hellenistic period, because it forced an attacker to fire at the walls from a great distance.⁴ The discovery of a large number of trenches around the circuit strengthens the hypothesis that the moat was not dug only in areas that were

readily accessible by the enemy, but also along the length of a major part of the walls.⁵

Ring roads

Archaeological research has revealed stretches of the ancient roads that ran around the wall at various places. The course of these roads hugged the wall either against its inner or outer side. The width of the outer road was determined by the *proteichisma*: after the latter's construction, the space between the wall and the *proteichisma* was filled in and levelled with earth taken from the moat, forming a subsurface for the road (Fig. 39).

The ring roads followed the contours of the wall and served the circulation of traffic between the gates, connecting various parts of the city. In the introduction to Plato's *Lysis*, Socrates recounts (203a): 'I was making my way from the Academy straight to the Lyceum, by the road outside the city wall – just under the wall'.⁶ Socrates walked from the area of Plato's Academy to the Lyceum gymnasium, the site of which may have been found on Rigillis street.⁷ The road that he walked along ran around the wall on its external side and was thus the outer ring road; a section of this road remains visible and accessible today at the junction of Aristeidou and Pesmazoglou streets (TH32).

After raising certain concerns about using the elements of the wall as dating criteria, we will examine in the main part of the chapter whether the historical evidence drawn from the literary and epigraphic record can be supported archeologically, and we will identify which potential construction phases of the fortification can be discerned. During the presentation of these proposed building phases we will have the opportunity to express some reservations about the correlations that have often been put forward by scholars between the structural elements of the wall and the dating of their phases. Some individual sections that make up this chapter correspond to those presented earlier in the narrative of the main historical periods of the Athenian fortification in Chapter 1. This allows for a comparison between the ancient sources and the archaeological data period by period.

2 Proposed construction phases – chronological issues

The fortification's state of preservation varies from excellent to entirely fragmentary. The surviving stone blocks, which researchers attempt to date and to place within specific building phases, exhibit the results of varying degrees of damage that had occurred already in antiquity from various sieges and catastrophes, but also from the stone robbing of ancient material that has taken place ever since, particularly in modern times. Therefore, the sequence of layers in each preserved part of the peribolos does not necessarily correspond to the historical sequence of construction phases of the fortification. For example, the excavation of the wall at 38–40 Syngrou avenue (TH79), but also 19–25 Parthenonos street (TH93), revealed that the 4th century B.C. wall was founded upon the remains of a Themistoklean building phase: we cannot know if the intermediate construction phases had meanwhile suffered destruction or dismantling, or if, alternatively, such a phase had ever existed, perhaps owing to the good defensive state of the Themistoklean fortification at this point.

Archaeological research into the Athenian wall is largely progressing on the results of rescue excavations which constantly bring to light scattered sections of its course. Due to the fragmented nature of the research, such a study is beset with difficulties. This is due to the fact that the large number of findings, which to date have been located or discovered in 182 positions, limit the possibility of a complete overview. Therefore, the distinction and integration of morphological features into construction phases, as well as their dating, is an exceedingly demanding task.

The value and use of the individual elements of the wall's structure as dating criteria is a matter which has also occupied researchers.⁸ The dating of these discoveries has been based primarily on the study of pottery and of stratigraphy; but it often relies also on correspondences between similar or common structural elements of the revealed fortifications, especially when the excavated fill did not yield sufficient pottery.⁹ It is generally believed that structural features, such as the shape of blocks, the method and style of their assembly, the type of material used and the treatment of the outer faces, in different combinations give the walls of each building period their own physiognomy; all are useful criteria, which should complement the principle dating proposed from study of the finds.

Similarities in form are often striking from place to place along the circuit wall. For example, the curtain wall 1a at the Kerameikos (TH1; Fig. 41) and the wall at 20 Erechtheiou street (TH94; Fig. 42) both belong to the double-faced type of wall, resembling each other both in the construction material and in the face treatment of the blocks; the sequence of the construction phases of these parts of the fortification can be traced course by course.

Fig. 41: Part of the wall west of the Sacred Gate at the Kerameikos (TH1, 1a). Excavation of 1932. Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, neg. D-DAI-ATH-Kerameikos 2460 (detail).

Fig. 42: One of the most impressive sections of the wall, at 20 Erechtheiou (TH94). Excavation of 1965–1966. (ph. by author).

The investigation of the morphological characteristics of the Athenian walls has shown that a structural type can constitute a useful criterion for linking it to a wider construction period; but in the majority of cases it cannot by itself determine with accuracy the chronological point of construction. An example can be drawn from the typology of the walls. The replacement of the mud-brick superstructure by a stone construction right up to the full height of the wall was part of a long process of Greek fortifications adapting to the needs of siege strategies: walls entirely of stone appeared early in the 4th century B.C., and their use expanded during the Hellenistic period.¹⁰ Thus a wall supported to a significant height by stone blocks may cover more than one building phase for which we have ancient testimony.¹¹

Another example of the same difficulty is the style of masonry, which is not always a safe guide to chronology. The polygonal verging on irregular trapezoidal style built with large quarry-face blocks with a tendency to coursing, which often occurs in the Athenian walls, has been dated in the archaeological reports to the late 5th and early 4th century B.C., and is a style, or rather a combination of styles, also found down to the Hellenistic period.¹² In addition, a masonry style often falls into more than one phase. For example, polygonal masonry, considered typical of the sixth century B.C., was revived later during the Hellenistic period.¹³ Moreover, the boundary separating the closely related styles is often not clearly defined; the characteristics of one may overlap with the characteristics of another.¹⁴ Certain differences in

masonry styles observable within a single building phase, occurring either in adjacent stretches or in the outer and inner faces of the same stretch, could be attributable to different contractors,¹⁵ thus limiting the reliability of masonry styles as chronological indicators.

Other structural elements also produce chronological difficulties, such as the type of stone blocks utilised. One historical example is the re-use of architectural members or sculptural fragments and other earlier building material. Until the end of the 19th century, these immured ancient members were for researchers strictly connected with the Themistoklean building phase because of the well-known passage in Thucydides which states that the Themistoklean wall was built using much material from older structures (1.93.1–2). Rousopoulos dated the wall at 6 Dragatsaniou street (TH35) to the Themistoklean phase precisely because of the discovery of an Archaic inscription built into the wall.¹⁶ Later, Philios would point out that tombstones were built into the walls not only in their Themistoklean phase but also during subsequent reconstructions.¹⁷ The re-use of ancient material is a phenomenon observable throughout the history of the Athenian fortification, and the dating of a wall to the Themistoklean period must not depend exclusively on the presence of such older material, much as this often remains the most important criterion for such an identification.

Lime mortar was used to bind the rubble in the masonry that characterises certain square towers in the Athenian city wall. Constructions that use lime mortar as a binding material in the faces or the core of the wall cover a long period of time, from the Late Roman until the Justinianic. At the same time, the presence of mortar itself minimises the chances of a Hellenistic dating. Accordingly, the use of this element as a dating criterion between these two periods is problematic.¹⁸

The walls of Athens were repaired, even if only in parts, in perhaps many more historical periods than those we are aware of from ancient literature and inscriptions. Among those repairs given in the ancient sources, which ones have been documented through the published archaeological data, and to what extent do these repairs occur across the entire wall? With these questions in mind we will attempt to establish the construction phases beyond those with entrenched names (Themistoklean, Kononian, Lykourgan, Valerian, Justinianic). We will then proceed to examine

the historical phases of the Athenian walls, comparing the ancient sources with the archaeological data and, where they exist, we will present the key elements of the wall's morphology for each phase.

1 The Themistoklean period (479/8 B.C.)

The Themistoklean wall was a mud-brick construction set upon a strong stone base. The base was directly founded onto the bedrock, following its contours, as can be seen in the lowest courses of the wall to the west of the Sacred Gate in the Kerameikos (Figs. 24, 41). The foundations of the wall often disturbed Geometric tombs (TH49, TH75, TH91, TH97, TH108), and were also built above other ancient deposits (T10, TH74, TH79). The double-face typology was widely used in the 5th century B.C. and is documented throughout all construction phases of the Athenian fortifications (Figs. 43–44).¹⁹ There are also some cases in which the base of the Themistoklean wall was constructed entirely of stone: the blocks of the stone base placed as headers in two rows covering the whole thickness of the wall (Figs. 45–48).²⁰ In both of these construction types, a horizontal surface was created onto which the mud-brick wall was built.

Fig. 43: Remains of the Themistoklean wall in the plot at 15–17 Mitropoleos street (TH49) near to Syntagma square, with a course almost along the length of Pentelis street. Excavation of 1959. Travlos Archive, photography folder 'Threpsiades Archive' (Athens; ΟΔΕΠ, Mitropoleos-Voulis). Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Fig. 44: View of the excavation in the plot at 15–17 Mitropoleos street (TH49). At the back right, the Themistoklean wall of Fig. 43. Two retaining walls of the moat (the northern, centre right of the picture, and the southern, lower left) supporting the ancient crossing road, which formed a bridge to allow access to an ancient gate whose remains have not been found yet. Travlos Archive, photography folder 'Threpsiades Archive' (Athens; ΟΔΕΠ, Mitropoleos-Voulis). Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Fig. 45: Plan of the wall faces at 11 Dipylou street. The poros header blocks in secondary use in the foundation course have

anathyrosis bands and date the wall to the Themistoklean building phase (TH9). Alexandri (1969c) 44, fig. 14. © Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Fig. 46: View of the rescue excavation in 1968 of the plot at 11 Dipylou street (TH9) and the works to prop up the neighbouring houses. The 4th century B.C. conglomerate header blocks can be seen. The poros blocks in secondary use in the Themistoklean building phase are arranged in the same manner. Travlos Archive, photography folder Athens B section (Dipylou 11). Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Fig. 47: Plan of the Themistoklean walls in the basement of a building at 37 Pouloupoulou street (TH120). Excavation of 1988. Lyngouri-Tolia (1988) 32, fig. 3. © Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Fig. 48: Part of the Themistoklean walls at 9 Sophroniskou street (TH102). Excavation of 1997. For a modern view of the remains, see Fig. 126. Kokkoliou (1997b) 50–51, pl. 26y. © Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

The Themistoklean wall ranges in width between 2.50 and 3.25 m., but its originally specified thickness should be 3 m. The occurring divergences were principally the result of the configuration and slope of the ground.²¹ Walls with a greater thickness usually date after the invention of the catapult in the early 4th century B.C., as we will observe below.

The original height of the double-faced stone base below a brick wall is generally believed not to have exceeded 1.50 m.²² Such a height safeguarded the mud-bricks from the presence of standing or flowing water. At the fall of Mantinea in 385 B.C., the Spartans diverted the course of the river Ophis to flood the city, and its waters covered the stone base of the fortification walls and eroded the mud-brick superstructure, making them vulnerable to battering rams (Paus. 8.8.7). In the Themistoklean phase, the documented height of the stone base of the Athenian wall did not exceed 1 or 2 courses above the ground.²³

The main building material of the Themistoklean stone base was rectangular blocks of poros or limestone of different sizes and in secondary use, without any binder (Fig. 49). Fragments of architectural members and sculptures were often found among

them, especially in the lowest course, consisting mostly of Archaic funerary stelai and bases of statues and stelai (Figs. 50–55), the presence of which is the clearest differentiating feature of the Themistoklean phase from that immediately following. The projecting parts of many of these built-in monuments have been cut off in order to be fitted against the flat surfaces of other blocks, such as we see on the kouros found in excavations at 15–17 Mitropoleos street (Fig. 54; see the excavation site at Fig. 44).²⁴

Fig. 49: Part of the Themistoklean walls in the road at Erysichthonos street, opposite no. 18 (TH113). Excavation of 1953. Travlos Archive, photography folder 'Threpsiades Archive' (Petalona; Copies of photographs of city wall at Erysichthonos Street). Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Fig. 50: Architectural material in secondary use built into the Themistoklean wall (TH49) at 15–17 Mitropoleos street. Excavation of 1959. Travlos Archive, photography folder 'Threpsiades Archive' (Athens; ΟΔΕΠ, Mitropoleos-Voulis). Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Fig. 51: Marble base of the 5th century B.C. built into the lower course of the Themistoklean wall (TH113). The back face of the stone can be distinguished in Fig. 49, penultimate stone lower right. Excavation of 1953. Travlos Archive, photography folder 'Threpsiades Archive' (Petalona; Copies of photographs of city wall at Erysichthonos Street). Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Fig. 52: Front face of an Archaic base of a funerary kouros statue, which was built into the Themistoklean wall at the Kerameikos. It shows a scene at the palaistra of a gymnasium with two wrestlers in the centre, framed to the left by an athlete ready to jump and to the right by another athlete who arranges the wrestling area, 510–500 B.C. National Archaeological Museum (no. 3476a). © Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund. (ph. G. Patrikianos).

Fig. 53: Fight between a lion and a boar (ca. 510 B.C.) which decorated the site of an Archaic marble kouros base, built into a tower E of the Dipylon. Kerameikos Museum (no. P 1002). Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Kerameikos,

Fig. 54: Part of an Archaic kouros statue preserved from its middle to above the knees, with serious damage to the area of the abdomen and the left thigh. It was used as building material for the core of the Themistoklean wall. Excavation at 15–17 Mitropoleos street (TH49). Travlos Archive, photography folder 'Threpsiades Archive' (Athens; ΟΔΕΠ, Mitropoleos-Voulis). Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Fig. 55: Funerary stele of Parian marble depicting a young athlete holding a javelin, 550–540 B.C. Found in the excavation of the Themistoklean wall at 19–25 Parthenonos street (TH93). National Archaeological Museum. National Archaeological Museum (no. 7901). © Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

The presence of ancient building materials in at least 10 excavated sites illustrates in the best possible way the testimony of Thucydides that the foundation of the wall was built using all sorts of materials (1.93.1–2), a rare coincidence of an ancient source and the archaeological evidence.

The style of masonry has been widely employed by archaeologists as a dating criterion for the Athenian walls, but its use is problematic, especially for the Themistoklean fortification. Where the masonry style is characterized as polygonal or as irregular trapezoidal polygonal, it is not specified in the excavation reports whether the particular descriptions relate to the Themistoklean or to some other course of masonry that has been preserved above the socle.²⁵ The application of polygonal masonry that occurs in the wall of the Eridanos bed at the Sacred Gate has not been recorded in the excavations of the remainder of the peribolos, where it seems that the masonry style is not uniform: the extensive use of older material would in any case have made it impossible to implement a single masonry style, and the case of the Sacred Gate must remain an exception.²⁶ The builders of the Themistoklean circuit did not attend to the outer faces of the dressed blocks in any special or uniform manner, because they were more concerned with ensuring the blocks were well-fitted together in a short period of time. The surviving parts of the Themistoklean stone base visible in the lowest course of the wall at

20 Erechtheiou street (Fig. 42) are characteristic of this work.

No trace of the mud-brick superstructure of the Themistoklean wall has been preserved because of the way the Athenians rebuilt their walls over the centuries: during each subsequent restoration, they first completely removed the brick superstructure above the older stone base and then proceeded to build up the new foundation.²⁷ Thus, the final height of the brick wall is not known from the excavation record. However, according to the assessment of the German archaeologists in the Kerameikos, the Themistoklean brick wall must have reached about 6–10 m.²⁸

The key feature of a Themistoklean gate is the enclosed forecourt; this type of gateway dates back to Mycenaean times.²⁹ The court area is protected by the defenders fighting from the battlements, which go around the walls of the gate, and from two square towers, or four in the case of Dipylon. The forecourt was open towards the outside and closed towards the city. This type of gate was designed on a clear strategic plan that did not alter over time: the notion of the 'impassable trap' whereby the enemy wanting to take the gate is trapped in the forecourt and surrounded by towers.³⁰

The towers of Greek fortifications protected not only the gates, but often the points where the wall turned. It is thought that, prior to 450 B.C., towers were limited in number and that they were erected only at the most vulnerable points along the wall.³¹ On the eve of the Peloponnesian War, as we learn from Thucydides, many Athenians from the demes of Attica took refuge within the fortification towers (2.17.3); the wall was, therefore, able to offer meaningful shelter, possibly in a significant number of towers. These towers perhaps had storage areas on the ground floor and also functioned as accommodation for the guards.³² Neither the number nor the form of these towers is precisely known for the Themistoklean phase; the available information relates primarily to the 4th century B.C. and the Hellenistic period.

The digging of the moat in front of the curtains was realised only at limited points when the Themistoklean wall was built, possibly with priority to the areas where the composition of the ground allowed it; the original purpose of the moat was to provide earth for the manufacture of bricks for the superstructure. These trenches would, however, quickly acquire a defensive character.³³ Excavations in the Kerameikos have revealed a section of the moat between the Dipylon and Sacred Gates, around 2 m. in depth,

which is assigned to the Themistoklean or pre-Kononian fortification, while a second contemporary moat was discovered east of the Dipylon (see Map, TH1, 5b, 5c).³⁴ A Themistoklean moat has also been revealed at 5–7–9 Dipylou street (TH10).³⁵ It seems likely that in the mid-5th century B.C., further trenches were opened along the perimeter of the Themistoklean wall.³⁶

The oldest traces of the wall's ring road were revealed between the wall and the moat at the Kerameikos archaeological site northeast of the Dipylon (TH1),³⁷ as well as in a rescue excavation at 5–7–9 Dipylou street (TH10).³⁸ Both of these sections belong to the outer road of the wall dating to the 5th century B.C.

The Themistoklean phase has been identified at 19 excavated sites along the wall. On the basis of the archaeological evidence, we suggest that four further preserved sections of the wall date to the Themistoklean fortification, at 11 Dipylou (TH9),³⁹ 34 Propylaion (TH101), 9 Sophroniskou (TH102), and 50 Irakleidon streets (Figs. 56–58; TH117). The decisive criterion for the allocation of these findings to the Themistoklean phase is the almost exclusive use of architectural members from the period before the Persian invasion, in conjunction with their position in the structure (foundation course), and the type of stone used (usually poros).

Figs. 56, 57, 58: Remains of the Piraic gate in the inner courtyard of a building at 50 Irakleidon street (TH117). (ph. by author).

2 The period of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.)

Thucydides' references to two earthquakes in 426 (3.87.4) and 420 B.C. (5.45.4) leaves open the possibility that the Athenian walls were damaged and perhaps repaired in the 420s B.C. (see p. 26). Reconstruction of the walls may have been undertaken by Kleon (429–422 B.C.), as part of a recovery after the earthquake of 426 B.C., as well as in the following period, when Nikias was on the political stage (421–416 B.C.). Archaeological data do indicate a possible connection with Thucydides (3.87.4), specifically for the fortification in the Kerameikos, where archaeologists have proposed dating remains of the wall and the *proteichisma* to the period of the Peace of Nikias.⁴⁰

This wall was constructed in the same manner as the

Themistoklean stone base, and upon its remains. In the Kerameikos (Fig. 41, TH1) and at 20 Erechtheiou street (Fig. 42, TH94) there are clearly distinguishable elements of the first two construction phases of the fortification. The builders of the Peloponnesian War phase first completely removed the Themistoklean mud-brick wall.⁴¹ They then built the wall to a new height using blocks of Acropolis limestone in a polygonal masonry style verging on irregular trapezoidal. A thick layer of small stones was used to fill the two sides. These blocks received treatment with a chisel to achieve a roughly flat but not finished surface. The polygonal blocks were left with oblique cuttings at one or both of the corners; a plate-like plug was used in their assemblage for filling the small intermediate gaps. The stone foundation of the Peloponnesian War phase, measured from the ground together with that of the Themistoklean phase, reaches a height of 1,70 m. at curtain wall 1a in the Kerameikos.⁴² The wall at 20 Erechtheiou street has a corresponding total height ranging from 1.10 to 1.81 m.

Two of the oldest sections of the *proteichisma* also date to the period of the Peloponnesian War, revealed during excavations at the Kerameikos. The first was an angular stone construction built in the second half of the 5th century B.C. in front of the western tower of the Dipylos in the area between the wall and the original moat.⁴³ The other was discovered between the Dipylos and the Sacred Gate (5b); this section of the *proteichisma*, built of Piraeic Akte stone, as well as the corresponding moat, were placed shortly before the beginning or in the first years of the war, possibly after the earthquake of 420 B.C.⁴⁴ The digging of the moat was therefore closely connected with the reinforced stone construction of the *proteichisma* that functioned as the retaining wall of its trench.

The sections of the peribolos exhibiting the technical characteristics of the Peloponnesian War phase were initially thought by Noack to be Themistoklean (TH1, TH115).⁴⁵ However, the first two phases of the fortification are clearly distinguishable from one other: in the Peloponnesian War phase, as well as the specific features already described, there is no evidence of the use of Archaic members or fragments as building material. Although there are no references in the published reports of the rescue excavations to a building phase of the city wall between the Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.) and Kononian (ca. 395–391 B.C.), there

clearly was a phase during the Peloponnesian War, evidenced both in the Kerameikos and at 20 Erechtheiou street. There are also cases of excavations reported in the *Archaiologikon Deltion* that revealed parts of the Athenian fortification which are classified into a broader period after the Themistoklean phase, such as where a construction phase of the wall was identified as 'prior to the 4th century B.C.' (TH87), or where structural elements were discovered 'from the end of the 5th century and the beginning of the 4th century B.C.' (TH85). Some of these findings perhaps belong to the Peloponnesian War phase. The study of unpublished excavation data that fall within this chronological range will illuminate more precisely their dating.

3 The Kononian period (ca. 395–391 B.C.)

The Kononian wall was built along the Themistoklean fortification line. In seven excavated sites, the wall clearly belongs to the double-faced type with mud-brick superstructure. The thickness of the wall is between 2.70 and 3 m. In cases where remains of the previous stone bases are preserved, polygonal or rectangular limestone blocks are set onto the existing structure (Fig. 42). But when the prior fortification was dismantled, the foundation courses of the new stone base were made of poros that supported polygonal limestone blocks, features that can be observed at 5–7–9 Dipylou street (Figs. 59–61, TH10). The final height of this construction, on a new foundation, reached 0.70 to 1.04 m.

Fig. 59, 60, 61: The outer face of the wall at 5–7–9 Dipylou street (TH10). Yellowish poros blocks were used in the lower course, and limestone in the upper. Excavation of 1979–1980. (ph. by author).

The style of masonry employed in the so-called Kononian phase was polygonal verging on irregular trapezoidal. The stone blocks were assembled in an elaborate manner and have both their perpendicular and oblique joints accentuated. It is worth recalling here the passage of Aristotle about the importance of walls to the aesthetics of a city (*Politics* 7.1331a) cited at the opening of Chapter 4 (p. 145). The gaps formed between the blocks were filled with triangular plugs.

The Kononian phase is distinguished from its predecessor firstly because the blocks of the wall are larger, and secondly

because their outer faces have a more emphatic treatment. The dimensions of the polygonal limestone blocks of the Kononian phase are particularly great: the largest stone in curtain wall 1a in the Kerameikos has a height of 0.78 and a length of 1.56 m. (Fig. 41, TH1); at 5–7–9 Dipylou street, it has a height of 0.47 and a length of 1.70 m. (Fig. 59, TH10); while at 20 Erechtheiou street, it has a height of 0.87 and a length of 1.45 m. (Fig. 42, TH94).

These massive polygonal limestone blocks usually have a quarry or hammer face. In addition, broached work has often been achieved by cutting long vertical or oblique grooves in a hurried or orderly manner on the faces of the limestone blocks (Figs. 42, 59–60; top course). Other massive polygonal blocks exhibit furrowed work with highly finished decorative cuttings, which are considered by excavators to be a standard treatment of the exposed faces of blocks of the Kononian phase (Figs. 37, 49, 62–63).⁴⁶ The group of so-called Kononian walls may include the eastern part of the gate at 50 Irakleidon street (Fig. 58, TH117),⁴⁷ perhaps also the sections of the wall at 2 Vourvachi (Fig. 64, TH72) and 1 Misaraliotou streets (Fig. 65, TH87).

Fig. 62: Rescue excavation of 1965 in a narrow trench on Iosiph ton Rogon street for the laying of cables by the Hellenic Telecommunications Organisation OTE (TH63). The decorative dressing is characteristic of 4th century B.C. masonry. Travlos Archive, photography folder 112 (Photographs from Athens). Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Fig. 63: Inner curving face of the Themistoklean wall at Erysichthonos street (TH112) in Theseio. Excavation of 1906. Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, neg. D-DAI-ATH-Athen Bauten 366.

Fig. 64: Outer face of the Themistoklean wall at the high end of Vourvachi street in front of no. 2 (TH72) in a plan of John Travlos. Excavation of 1955. Travlos Archive, folder 'Athens' 4N-155, 5 (City wall on Vourvachi Street, Miliadis and Threpsiades excavation). Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Fig. 65: Outer face of the Themistoklean wall in the road in front of 1 Misaraliotou street (TH87) in a plan of John Travlos. Excavation of 1950. Travlos Archive, folder 'Athens' 3N-154, 4 (Misaraliotou street). Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

The brick superstructure of the wall was exposed in the Kerameikos after the collapse of curtain wall 1a in 1956. The extent of the damage necessitated a major restoration of the wall, which took place three years later under the supervision of Gruben.⁴⁸ This work provided the opportunity to investigate the core of the wall, the composition of which had not been clarified until then. Curtain wall 1a was found to be in an excellent state of preservation with 15 rows of bricks from the core of the Kononian phase reaching a height of 1 m. above the stone base (Figs. 66–67).⁴⁹

Fig. 66: The mud-brick superstructure of the wall to the west of the Sacred Gate in the Kerameikos (TH1, 1a), revealed during restoration works (see Fig. 41); it belongs to the Kononian phase (ca. 395–392 B.C.). Ohly (1965), fig. 51, pp. 365–366. Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Kerameikos, no. 5984.

Fig. 67: The core of the wall (TH1, 1a) in the following building phases: Themistoklean (1: stone base); Kononian (2: stone base and 3: mud-brick superstructure); Lykourgan (4: stone base and 5: mud-brick superstructure). Ohly (1965), fig. 52, pp. 369–370. Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Kerameikos, no. 7587.

The mud-bricks that emerged after the collapse of the wall are not currently visible, as they are now covered by the restored external faces of the wall. Similar discoveries along the remainder of the fortification peribolos are few, but have been noted at Erechtheiou street (TH94, TH99) and at 5–7–9 Dipylou street (TH10). As for their finished appearance, an Athenian inscription provides evidence that the brick superstructure was coated with clay and mortar, so that the wall was protected against bad weather (ἀλοιμμοῦ): *IG II² 1663.3, 392/1 B.C.*)

The digging of a defensive moat in the section between the Dipylon and Sacred Gates also dates to the Kononian period: this consists of a widening of a pre-existing trench dated to the Peloponnesian War.⁵⁰ In another part of the Kerameikos, east of the road leading from the Dipylon, the embankment of the previous Themistoklean moat was cleared early in the 4th century B.C., or in 375, and then an outer retaining wall of the trench was built (see Map, TH1, 5d).⁵¹ An inscription was found at the

southwest corner that reads ὄρος τέλματος Ἀθηνάας.⁵² Following the discovery of this boundary stone, Gruben maintained that the Themistoklean circuit would have included a defensive trench already from the 5th and 4th centuries, at least starting from the Sacred Gate (TH1), at the northwest of the city, up to the gate revealed at 15–17 Mitropoleos street (TH49) in the east, where extensive works for diverting the Eridanos have been uncovered with a complex network of channels.⁵³ In other excavated sites, the fortification peribolos has not provided evidence for the digging of a moat in the same period.

Part of the outer ring road has been identified to the northeast of the Dipylon and is dated to the 5th century B.C. (see p. 165). The westbound course of this road appears to have continued up until the Sacred Way after the beginning of the 4th century B.C., and it is thought to have passed over the Eridanos on a wooden bridge.⁵⁴

A review of the chronology of the Athenian walls with massive polygonal limestone takes us back to the first discovery of these walls in the Kerameikos. They were first recognized as Themistoklean by von Alten in 1878.⁵⁵ According to Dörpfeld, it was apparent that the building materials of the Themistoklean wall consisted of limestone blocks and bricks, unlike the wall of the 4th century B.C., which was made of conglomerate stones.⁵⁶ Noack would then excavate curtain wall 1a in 1906, identifying four fortification phases, which he linked to groups with specific morphological features, as well as with historical periods of reconstruction.⁵⁷ Among them he distinguished two earlier construction periods, one Themistoklean and the other Kononian, the second corresponding to von Alten's Themistoklean phase; the walls with polygonal limestone have since then been assigned to the Kononian building phase.⁵⁸ Noack concluded: 'with the results that we have now achieved, the remains which we have so far believed Themistoklean are separated from their proud name'.⁵⁹ Judeich then agreed with Noack.⁶⁰ In 1959, Maier distinguished a total of four construction phases for the walls of the Kerameikos, of which two were Themistoklean.⁶¹ The situation was finally clarified by Ohly's excavation at the core of curtain wall 1a (1956–1961), when the Themistoklean and Kononian phases of the stone base were distinguished from one another, following their correspondence with the layers of inner filling; ever since then, the use of massive polygonal limestone blocks has been considered a feature of the so-called Kononian building phase.⁶²

The walls with monumental limestone blocks, dated to the Kononian period, are of an extremely durable construction. The procurement of large amounts of hard limestone and the absence of material in secondary use indicate that the building material was quarried specifically for the fortification. The careful treatment of the outer faces of the blocks and their excellent joints all support the hypothesis that this extensive reconstruction project of the city walls must have been undertaken during a time of peace.

The investigation of the wall's morphological features has indicated a potential shifting of the Kononian phase to a later period. The use of hard limestone blocks, the broached or furrowed work on the outer face of the stones and the drafted joints, which are all characteristic of this group, possibly relate to an Archaising imitation of the polygonal masonry style, which suggests a date in the 4th century B.C., but also later.⁶³ Furthermore, these elements were dated by their excavators both to the Kononian phase (TH1, TH63, TH87, TH88, TH115) and to the 4th century B.C. generally (TH85, TH72, TH74, TH103). The period of prosperity referred to above could be sought both in the time of Konon, if the reconstruction of the city walls belongs to his fortification programme,⁶⁴ as well as later, under Euboulos or Lykourgos. Since, however, references to the fortifications under Euboulos are scant in the ancient sources (see pp. 30–32), it is reasonable to argue that the structural elements of the so-called Kononian phase perhaps belong to a period of Lykourgan fortification works (337/6 B.C.), an era of growth in state revenues as well as a time of continuous peace (338–326 B.C.), when Athens undertook major public works.

4 The period from the middle to the late 4th century B.C.

The Wall

The archaeological documentation of the structure of the walls that have been dated from the middle to the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. does not allow us to allocate them to distinct morphological groups which might correspond with historical periods of the fortification as indicated in our ancient sources (see

Ch. 1.4, I.5, I.6). In contrast, we are able to make such links with the finds of the late 4th century B.C., specifically those from 307–304 B.C., as their study allows us to discern a clear correlation between the fortification under Demochares known from ancient sources (see Ch. 1.2.7) and specific structural elements (an isodomic masonry with conglomerate stones set alternately in courses of headers or stretchers). However, since these morphological elements are sporadically also observable in discoveries from the middle to the last quarter of the 4th century B.C., and in the Hellenistic period generally, in the following section all these walls assigned to the second half of the 4th century B.C. are considered together. It should be noted that many other published but undated sections of the walls also belong to this morphological group.

In this extended period of time, the type of double-faced wall was broadly applied, in parallel with the all-stone masonry. In the latter category, the core of the stone base was built with the same cut blocks used for the faces of the wall. The walls were generally set onto the remains of the earlier fortification, although there are cases where they were erected on a new foundation, the blocks rested on simple beddings cut down in the bedrock; when the bedrock sloped down, the beddings were cut in a stepped fashion (TH9, TH32, TH41, TH55, TH67, TH68, V21, TH103, TH122). More rarely, the ground was levelled before the foundations were laid (TH96), while in places where the soil was loose and abundant waters in the area had disintegrated the earlier fortification, the foundations of the new wall were discovered at a significant depth, as in the case at Erysichthonos street (TH118), where three courses of conglomerate stone were built as the foundations of the 4th century wall (Fig. 68).⁶⁵

Fig. 68: All-stone wall of the Hellenistic period built in the isodomic system with conglomerate blocks. Excavation of 1965 at 15 Erysichthonos street (TH118). Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, neg. D-DAI-ATH-Athen Bauten 669. (ph. Hellner).

The relative height between the bedrock and the wall is defined, together with other specifications, in the inscription *IG II² 463*, from the end of the 4th century B.C.⁶⁶ The foundation blocks should reach ὑπὲρ γῆ[ς μ]ῆ [ἔ]λα[τ]τον [ῆ] δίπο[υ]ν (ll. 39–40),⁶⁷

that is 'no less than two [feet] above the ground', i.e., at least 65.4 cm (1 foot = 32.7 cm). In general, the building inscription IG II² 463 provides information about the repair of damaged parts of the walls, which may correspond to specific archaeological discoveries. In the following section, we will search for such associations.

IG II² 463 tells us that the *lithologima*⁶⁸ is clearly distinguished from the building materials that the contractors must provide for the new construction. It follows that the *lithologima* is associated with the lowermost part of the wall: Ἐὰν δέ τι πτωματίσει μέχρι τοῦ λιθολογήματ[ος ..²⁶..] παρέξει καὶ ἐξοικοδομήσει (Il. 47–48) ('and if it (the wall) has fallen down to the (level of the) *lithologima*, he will supply (the stones) and he will make good the structure').⁶⁹ Based on this inscription, the stones transported by carts are to be set above the surface of the *lithologima*: [τὰ δὲ στρώμ]α[τα τ]ῶν λι[θ]ολογημάτων ἀμαξιαίους οἰκοδομή[σει] κα[ὶ] ... ²³ ... λίθοις [ἰ]σομέτρ[οι]ς (Il. 45–46) ('and the layers of the *lithologimata* he will construct with cart-loaded [stones] and with stones of the same size').⁷⁰ It seems reasonable to conclude that we have here a description of the lowest part of the wall with a *lithologima* and transported stones. If these lines describe the whole thickness of the wall where these stones were laid and not only the building of the external stone faces of the wall base, we can assume that IG II² 463 provides the specifications for an all-stone construction.⁷¹ Furthermore, the above specifications can be identified in at least 24 excavated sites that exhibit the all-stone typology (Figs. 46, 69–72). These 24 sections of the walls could accordingly be considered contemporaneous with IG II² 463 (307/6 B.C.).

Fig. 69: All-stone wall at 3 Vourvachi street (TH68). Excavation of 1968. Travlos Archive, photography folder 112 (Photographs from Athens). Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Fig. 70: All-stone wall at 19–25 Parthenonos street (TH93). Left, the beginning of a tower. Excavation of 1972. Liagouras (1973–1974), pl. 52α. © Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Fig. 71: All-stone Hellenistic construction of conglomerate blocks in the road at Pouloupoulou street, in front of no. 37 (TH121). Excavation of 1953(?). Travlos Archive, photography folder 'Threpsiades Archive' (Petalona; Tower at Ilia Pouloupoulou

Street). Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Fig. 72: View of the rescue excavation of 1965–1966 at 20 Erechtheiou street (TH94). Two typologies of the wall can be distinguished: at the top, the beginning of the double faced wall with inner fill; at the bottom, the all-stone construction built onto earlier foundations, which dates to the end of the 4th century B.C. See the face of the wall at the left in Fig. 42. Travlos Archive, photography folder 112 (Photographs from Athens). Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Another possible correspondence of archaeological data and evidence from *IG II*² 463 can be read in lines 38–39, where two references deal with damage. Firstly, the inscription states that in places a new *lithologima* must be constructed, most probably in relation to new foundations of the walls: Ὅσα δ' [ἂν ῥι] ἐκ τῶν θεμ[ελίων ..¹⁶.. ἀνακαθαράμενο?]ς λιθολο[γῆσ]ει (Il. 38–39) ('to those that fell down to the foundation level ... he will ?clear up and build the *lithologima*').⁷² Secondly, this repair should ensure the best possible protection: ὥς ἐχυρώ[τατ]α[ν] ἐπισκ[ε]υ[ασθ]ῶσιν (l. 38) ('will be repaired as securely as possible').⁷³ Corresponding with the above two passages, archaeological research has indeed shown that at certain sites the wall was reconstructed from the ground upon a new foundation (Il. 38–39), while in other places, investigations revealed a repair from the end of the 4th century B.C. on top of earlier remains of the wall (l. 38).

The initial thickness of the wall of the second half of the 4th century ranges from 2 to 4.48 m. In the category of walls built upon earlier stone bases, it can generally be observed that their thickness was not altered from the preceding phase, both when the walls belong to the type with two faces or to the all-stone typology. But when the wall was set onto new foundations and built in the all-stone typology, then its thickness was larger than that of the earlier phases.⁷⁴ The widest part of the all-stone type was discovered at 6 Dragatsaniou street (TH35) with a thickness of around 5 m., while at the point where it was widened for the construction of steps or ramps this reached 6.85 m.⁷⁵ From this evidence, the Athenian wall of the all-stone type is ranked among the largest of its time.⁷⁶

Within the city of Athens, the all-stone wall type was also documented with a thickness of only 3 m., the usual width of the

two-face wall type. This can be seen in parts of the fortifications where the ground slopes sharply. The level of the bedrock at the north bank of the Ilissos ranged from 0.40 to 8 m. (TH67), and the wall that passed through this area, on Vourvachi street (TH68, TH69, TH72) and on Syngrou Avenue (TH79), has a thickness of 3 m.

Stairways leading to the *parodos* of the wall – the path that ran along the height of the superstructure – allowed soldiers access to the towers and battlements. It is believed that in late Classical and Hellenistic times, the wooden stairs of the older fortification were replaced with stone steps.⁷⁷ As we learn from the building inscription *IG II² 463.46*, it was necessary at the end of the 4th century B.C. to repair certain stairs: ἐπισκευάσει δὲ καὶ τῶν κλιμάκων τὰ δεό[μενα] ('and he will repair the stairs as needed'). The position of the stairs or ramps for lifting ballistic machines is often discernible by the widening of the internal face of the wall. Rescue excavations have revealed three such widenings: one 11 m. (TH93, TH35) and another 12 m. in length (TH88). One of these was identified at 6 Dragatsaniou street (TH35), where the thickness of the western part of the surviving wall was 4.48 m., and the eastern part, where the stairs had been adjusted, was 6.85 m. wide. Threpsiades did not hide his enthusiasm in drafting the excavation report: 'The thickest portion ... was preserved to a height of 2.50 m. and a length of 11 m., constituting stairs. It is the only staircase to have been found in the parts of the circuit so-far discovered'.⁷⁸ Part of the staircase was saved from demolition because of his persistence in asserting its value, and is currently visible in the basement of a building at 6 Dragatsaniou street.

The blocks of the wall were mostly of common dimensions: a length of 4 feet (130.8 cm), a width of 2 feet (65.4 cm), and a height of 1.50 feet (49.0 cm).⁷⁹ Their height agrees with the corresponding specifications defined in *IG II² 463.41–42*: μὴ ἐλάττωσι[ν ἤ] τριημιποδί[οις], 'no less than three half-feet', i.e. 1.5 feet, or 49 cm. If indeed this dimension does concern the height of the blocks, then there should have been at least two courses of the visible foundations in order to cover the specified minimum overall height of 65.4 cm. above the ground, ὑπερ γῆ[ς μ]ὴ [ἔ]λα[τ]τον [ἤ] δίπο[υν] (II. 39–40).

The new walls of the 4th century B.C., which were entirely in stone from the foundations up, often fill in the gaps along stretches of the ruined fortification of the two faces type up to its

previous height, as noted in the excavation at 20 Erechtheiou street (Fig. 72, TH94), but also at another site (TH10). In other cases, the all-stone walls were raised on new foundations to a much greater height, which have survived up to 4.50 m. (TH35).

The great height of some all-stone sections of the wall provide a strong indication that it may have continued at least up to the height of the *parodos*. The existence of fortifications built of stone up to the final height of the superstructure has been suggested by Gruben at the Dipylon (TH1), where he calculated that the whole construction from the end of the 4th century B.C. reached a final level with 20 courses of blocks totalling 30 feet, or 9.81 m.⁸⁰ It is possible that a height of 10 m. was specified for the wall at least at its most vulnerable parts. Besides the Dipylon, corresponding cases of all-stone walls with a large preserved height, ranging between 6 and 9 courses, can be found in other parts of the wall (TH32, TH35, TH68).

The walls of Athens from the second half of the 4th century B.C. exhibit a widespread use of dressed rectangular stones of conglomerate and poros. The poros blocks were used mainly as complementary material for the conglomerate stone but also as a facing of the core. Limestone is used much more rarely. Extensive use of older building material and fragments of sculptures and inscriptions are also documented either in the faces or in the filling of the wall.

The walls were built in isodomic masonry, that is with ashlar blocks laid in courses of equal height. The alternating structure of the blocks either as headers or stretchers, *φορμηδὸν καὶ παρὰ μῆκος*, was applied in most cases. Masonry with a transverse positioning of header blocks in combination with stretchers is what characterizes the *ἐμπλεκτον* (interwoven) type of Hellenistic fortifications, about which Vitruvius wrote 'this structure is what secured the stable connection of all the building materials of the construction'.⁸¹ Small stepped recesses, about 0.10–0.15 m. wide, on the external faces were often applied to every second block in height (TH32, TH35).⁸² An impression of durability and power was produced by the isodomic masonry style in the wall through the shading of the faces of the conglomerate stones, but also the emphasis of their joints. The *anathyrosis* (TH5) and *periteneia* (TH99, TH102) are also elements of the working of the dressed blocks of the wall; however, these elements primarily characterise the stones during their first use and do not represent a universal

treatment of the outer faces of the wall.

The low height of the preserved foundations of the wall negates the possibility of finding the *parodos*, battlements, or the roof. There are preserved traces of the battlements only at the Dipylon. Information about the upper elements of the fortification is provided again by the inscription IG II² 463, and also by *Agora* XVI 109, which adds substantially to lines 100–130 of that inscription. We will now examine some of the most revealing passages.

A large portion of the text of the above inscriptions relates to the building specifications for the level of the *parodos*, the width of which was not constant at all points along the wall, as is shown in *Agora* XVI 109, l. 113: ὅσ[αι δέ] τῶν παρ[ό]δω[ν σ]τενότεραί εἰσιν ('in those places where the wall-walk is narrower'). The inscription describes the removal of parts of the battlements and their replacement by parapets of a new type with rectangular openings (IG II² 463, ll. 52–74).⁸³ The height of the new parapets is calculated around 2.50 m. above the *parodos*, thereby achieving a significant elevation of the walls, critical for the effective repulsion of long range weapons.⁸⁴ In addition, the same inscription refers to the roofing of the wall (IG II² 463, ll. 52–53): Καταστεγάσει δὲ κα[ὶ] τὴν πάροδον [τοῦ κύκ]λου τοῦ περὶ [τὸ ἄστυ ἄνευ τοῦ] διατεχί[σ]μα[τος] καὶ τοῦ διπύλου τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν πυλῶν ('and he shall roof the wall-walk of the circuit around the city, excluding the *diateichisma* and the Dipylon above the Gates'). The structure of the roofing has repeatedly puzzled researchers, and has been variously interpreted as a roof over the entire *parodos*,⁸⁵ as a waterproof pavement of the *parodos*,⁸⁶ or as a partial roofing of the *parodos* which remained completely open to the side of the city.⁸⁷ The interpretation of the *katastegasma* as a sort of roofing of the *parados* is today followed by the majority of researchers.

Agora XVI 109 tells us that some of the roofing elements had previously existed, although in a different building material, or had already been adapted to a lesser extent. Specifically, at the narrower portions of the *parodos*, it prescribes that γεισηποδίσματα, which in the case of walls were supports of the internal widening of the *parodos*, must be replaced by new stone ones strengthened by στόχους (ll. 113–114), a kind of pillar. Moreover, the construction of the pillars was prescribed at points οὓ μὴ εἰσιν οἰκοδομημένοι (IG II² 463, l. 59) ('where they have not been built'), thus in certain places στόχοι already existed. The use

of bricks adopted in the construction of the roof reflects the preservation of elements of the traditional superstructure (*IG II*² 463, ll. 55, 58).

Towers

The Athenian walls of the 4th century B.C. had rectangular, square and semi-circular towers; the majority were rectangular and of medium size. These towers projected in front of the wall and were structurally bonded with it: the back side of the tower was continuous with the internal face of the curtain wall and the *parodos* passed through the tower and not behind it.⁸⁸ Their initial dimensions survive only in three cases (TH37, TH91, TH109/TH110), with the largest length 8.50 m. along the faces of the wall (TH37), and width 6.30 m. (TH91).⁸⁹

The towers had deeper foundations than the wall (TH5, TH55, TH108), and were principally brick constructions above a stone plinth, generally sharing similar characteristics with the adjacent wall in terms of the foundations, structure and masonry.⁹⁰ The semi-circular tower of the latter half of the 4th century B.C. on Erysichthonos street, the construction of which was adjusted to an angle in the Themistoklean wall (Figs. 73–74, TH112), comprises a series of blocks that hold the inner fill of the construction, the tower presenting similar masonry to the abutting wall.

Fig. 73: Semi-circular tower of the Hellenistic period at 20–24 Erysichthonos street (TH112). The construction was adapted onto the pre-existing bend of the wall, which is depicted in Fig. 63. Excavation of 1906. Photo courtesy of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, neg. D-DAI-ATH-Athen Bauten 359.

Fig. 74: Plan by Noack of the semi-circular tower at 20–24 Erysichthonos street (TH112). Noack (1907) 503, fig. 23.

The towers of this period were built in isodomic masonry, the blocks normally placed alternately in headers and stretchers (Figs. 70, 75–76). They were constructed of conglomerate and poros. Their remains are preserved only at a low foundation level, so we cannot estimate the final height of the whole structure; it is believed, however, that the towers rise above the wall by one or two floors.⁹¹ The existence of internal compartments cannot be

established for towers even for the Dipylon itself, which has been studied more than any other example.⁹² The roofing of the towers contained elements of stone, clay and possibly wood, as *IG II²* 463 (ll. 50–52) shows.⁹³

Fig. 75: Part of the Hellenistic rectangular tower with its original length (8.15 m.) at the corner of 29 Erysichthonos and Nileos (TH108) in Theseio. Excavation of 1966. Travlos Archive, photography folder 112 (Photographs from Athens). Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Fig. 76: Plan of a square tower of the Hellenistic period in the plot at 12 Parthenonos (TH91). Excavation of 1966. Alexandri (1967i) 107, fig. 52. © Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Research into the walls of the second half of the 4th century B.C. has identified extant remains or archaeological indications of a total of 25 towers. At the Dipylon, four towers from the end of the 4th century B.C. protect the corners of the forecourt area, while in the same period at the Sacred Gate, two towers stood at the outer side. Structural characteristics dating to the Hellenistic period are evidenced also in the foundations of 10 towers (TH19, TH37, TH55, TH66, TH85, TH91, TH93, TH108–TH109, TH112, TH124), while in another five cases structural elements possibly indicate an attribution to the same period (TH5, TH89,⁹⁴ TH103, TH105, TH116). Evidence for the presence of towers or stairs to the battlements exists at excavation sites TH14, TH35, TH49, TH99.

The frequency of the wall's towers is difficult to determine, as the foundations of successive towers have been uncovered in only a few places: such indications exist for the *diateichisma*, to which we will return later, and in the area north of the Piraic gate, where the distance between the Hellenistic towers varies between ca. 28 and 56 m.⁹⁵ The addition of a semi-circular tower in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C. is documented at a bend of the Themistoklean wall on Erysichthonos street (TH112); the tower would have reinforced that point of defence, and provided better observation of the Attic countryside.⁹⁶

The *proteichisma*

The *proteichisma* surrounded the wall and followed its course (Fig. 77), unless the steepness of the ground necessitated an alternative construction, as occurred at the north riverbed of the Ilissos (Fig. 78). It was built at a distance of 8–10 m. from the wall, and was founded upon bedrock, which often had to be cut in a stepped fashion, to a depth typically greater than that for the wall. The construction of the *proteichisma* was adapted to the slope of the ground by providing a greater number of courses where the bedrock was lower, with a view to covering the depressions of the ground, and a correspondingly smaller number of courses in parts of its foundations which were set at a greater physical height (TH23). In this way, the builders avoided the costly work of levelling the natural terrain.⁹⁷ The course of the *proteichisma* has been detected not only from its physical remains, but also from the cuttings of its foundation trenches preserved in the bedrock (TH10, TH41, TH42).

Fig. 77: Wall (at back) and *proteichisma* (at front) at the junction of 14 Aristeidou and Pesmazoglou (TH32). The extramural ring-road can be distinguished between the two constructions, following the slight downhill slope of the ground. Excavation of 1966. For a modern view of the wall, see Fig. 114. Travlos Archive, photography folder 112 (Photographs from Athens). Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Fig. 78: Part of the *proteichisma* on a bend at the junction of 29 Syngrou avenue and Negri street (TH78). At the back right is a transverse reinforcing buttress. Excavation of 1962. Third Archaeological Region of Athens (1963) 43β. © Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

The *proteichisma* was a strong all-stone construction measuring from 1.10 to 2.50 m in width, a characteristic section of which is preserved and visible in the Kerameikos archaeological site (Fig. 79). Its superstructure was crowned by prismatic coping stones, many of which had been thrown into the fill of the moat (TH29, TH32). At parts of the fortification which would receive the brunt of an attack, such as the gates, the construction of the *proteichisma* was particularly reinforced. When there were static problems, such as in the southern arm of the fortification, the *proteichisma* was strengthened and became double; it consisted of two parallel

rows, the north with a thickness of 1.36 m., and the south 1.40 m., abutting each other, and was founded in two independent trenches, without the construction of one engaging with the other, forming a total thickness of at least 2.76 m. (TH89). Strong *proteichismata* have been documented at many points along the circuit, in the north (TH4, TH29), east (TH31, TH45, TH53), and in the southern parts (TH77, TH84, TH96, TH67, TH114). The surviving sections vary between 1 and 13 (TH4) courses and have a height of 0.45 to 5.70 m. (TH67). The total height of the *proteichisma* in the Kerameikos, between the Dipylon and Sacred Gates (5b), is estimated to have been 8 m., measuring from the bottom of the moat to the coping of this outer wall (Fig. 79),⁹⁸ while the surviving height of the *proteichisma* at Agion Asomaton street is 5.60 m. (Fig. 80, TH4).

Fig. 79: The largest preserved section of the *proteichisma* in the Kerameikos between the Sacred Gate and the Dipylon (TH1, 5b). The fortification moat has been covered with earth and occupies the area outside the *proteichisma*. (ph. by author).

Fig. 80: An impressive section of the 4th century B.C. *proteichisma* to a height of 5.60 m. (13 courses) at the Benaki Museum of Islamic Art on Agion Asomaton street (TH4). (ph. by author).

The *proteichisma* was constructed in isodomic masonry with alternating courses of headers and stretchers. The main building material comprised conglomerate stones with average dimensions similar to those of the wall. More rarely, limestone and poros were employed as supplementary materials. Reused architectural members were also incorporated into its construction, while subsequent repairs included rough stones and bricks.

In areas where the soil was loose or where the fortification was more vulnerable to attacks, transverse buttresses were added to the inner side of the *proteichisma* (Figs. 38, 78) (TH4, TH49, TH67, TH78, TH85, TH89, TH114, TH119). Their structure was of rectangular conglomerate stone, the same material as the *proteichisma* to which they were joined (TH4, TH89, TH114, TH118); more rarely, the conglomerate blocks were supplemented with limestone (TH119). The distance between the buttresses appears not to have been regular (around 2 m. at TH49; from 3.70 to 4.50 m. at TH67).

The *proteichisma* has been located in 45 excavation sites and dates from the second half of the 5th until the late 4th century B.C. The elements of its structure show few differences and do not allow a clear chronological categorisation. The double *proteichisma* was apparently employed for specific static reasons, owing to the unstable composition of the ground in the south part of the city (TH89) and does not constitute a dateable typology. Also, the irregular shape of the stones of the *proteichisma* is the result of subsequent repairs (TH49). However, the presence of the buttresses may potentially act as a morphological criterion to distinguish the construction phases of the *proteichisma*, insofar as the structures of some of these buttresses were incorporated within the repairs of the *proteichisma* and were not part of its original construction (TH89, TH114, TH118). In Hellenistic times (TH89, TH96), and later still in the Roman (TH1, TH67) and Late Roman periods (TH4, TH13), the *proteichisma* was widened and converted into a wall, as we will note when examining those corresponding historical phases.

The moat

The moat of the 4th century B.C. constituted a huge fortification project, intertwined with the construction of the *proteichisma*, and has been discovered in 53 excavated sites. Where it has been revealed to its full extent, the width of the trench ranged from 8 to 12.50 m. (TH89), and the depth from 3.20 to 11 m. (TH37). The dimensions of the trench of the moat vary widely, presumably because of the differences in the morphology of the ground and the quality of the soil. Aerial photographs of the excavation in Klafthmonos square show the size of this work at the point of a bend in the wall (Fig. 81).

Fig. 81: Aerial photograph from 1974 of the excavation in Klafthmonos square (TH37). Below, the moat trench, 11 m. deep, with a bend in its course; above, on the top of the bedrock, the *proteichisma* can be distinguished, also curving around; in the centre left, the line of the wall meets a tower. Alexandri (1973–1974d), pl. 105a. © Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

The trenches of the moat are typically suspended at the gates, in

order to create a strip of land to connect the crossing road with the gate. Two boundaries of the moat have been proposed for the southern arm of the fortification, extending between the hill of the Muses and the Temple of Olympian Zeus. The western limit is detected in the retaining wall of the moat uncovered at 18 Erechtheiou street (TH96),⁹⁹ approximately 50 m. from the beginning of the steep upward slope of the Mouseion hill at Sophroniskou street. The eastern boundary of the moat has been linked to the retaining wall excavated at 5–7–9 Vourvachi street (TH67) to the southwest of the Temple of Olympian Zeus.¹⁰⁰ From the stratigraphic study of a Hellenistic building in a plot at 15 Iosiph ton Rogon, between Lempesi and Vourvachi streets, a few steps east of a tower of the wall (TH66), it has been demonstrated that the typical fill identified in the trenches of the moat is absent, and the excavation report assumes that this side of the city therefore had neither *proteichisma* nor moat.¹⁰¹ The published excavated data for that area, east of Vourvachi street, have not so far overturned this hypothesis.

West of Vourvachi street, the picture is different for the documentation of the defensive moat. The excavation report for the site at 23 Syngrou avenue (TH74) had argued that the bed of the Ilissos substituted for the moat, because the bedrock presented a large drop south of the *proteichisma*, while undisturbed sandy earth with no sign of a moat was found beneath the Sullan destruction layer.¹⁰² This hypothesis may, nevertheless, prove doubtful in light of the discovery of trenches of the moat in excavation sites on both sides and to the south of the position of this particular plot (TH73, TH76, TH77, TH78, TH79, TH82).

Beyond these two southern limits, another western boundary of the moat was proposed at the Piraic gate (TH117); Sulla's decision to attack the section of the fortification between the Piraic and Sacred gates (Plut. *Sulla* 14.3) was attributed to the absence of a moat and *proteichisma*.¹⁰³ However, subsequent excavations to the north of the Piraic gate showed that the fortification had both of these components until almost the level of Pouloupoulou street (TH118, TH119).

Regarding the dating of the moat in the post-Kononian period, archaeological research at the Kerameikos has proven that the first trench of a moat goes back to the period of the fortifications of Lykourgos in 337/6 B.C., while the second goes back to the late

4th century B.C.¹⁰⁴ Fill of the moat was dumped here in several later periods dating from the end of the 4th century B.C. until the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. The composition of these fills, particularly from the 1st century B.C. to the 1st century A.D., shows homogeneous material; the typical composition includes organic and building materials and broken vessels, which were deposited in the area of the moat after the destruction of Athens by Sulla and the cleaning up of the city that followed. There remain a few cases of horizontal fills mainly of clay and sand, without particularly many sherds or building material (TH87, TH89, TH96). The area of the moat was used for burials after the final backfill during the Late Roman period (TH37, TH96).

Retaining walls of the moat

The retaining walls of the moat were constructed inside the trench to protect it from the strong outward force of the earth slopes. The retaining walls were founded at the bottom of the moat, directly onto the bedrock or within a cutting into it. They were strong constructions usually built in isodomic masonry, sometimes preserved to a large height, as for example we see with the 14 courses of retaining wall at 18 Erechtheion street which reach a height of 6.60 m. (Fig. 82, TH96).

Fig. 82: Interlocking sections of the *proteichisma* (at the top) and the retaining wall of the moat (left) at 18 Erechtheiou street (TH96). It was built during the 4th century B.C. and was founded at a depth of 8.80 m. below the road surface of Erechtheiou street. Excavation of 1989–1990. Parlama (1990), pl. 18β. © Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Conglomerate stone provided the main building material of these retaining walls, while in a few cases poros was also used, either as the sole material or in combination with the conglomerate. The surviving retaining walls are divided into those of the outer side of the moat, which take a course parallel to that of the wall, and the transverse supporting walls which are arranged across the width of the moat. These latter walls functioned also as the retaining walls of the transverse arterial roads (Fig. 83, TH29), which led into the city through gates or posterns.

Fig. 83: Trench of the fortification moat at the junction of Aioulou and Sophokleous streets beneath the building of the National Bank of Greece (TH29). On the left is the outer retaining wall of the moat and to the right part of the *proteichisma* can be seen. The wall at the top supports the length of the crossing road, which led to a gate of the walls. (ph. by author).

Ring roads

The outer ring road of the walls of the 4th century B.C. is documented archeologically at 18 excavated sites. The number of ancient road surfaces which are preserved range from two to eight, and their initial width was from 4.50 to 6 m. The surviving traces of wheel ruts on the final surface give an axial width of 1.44 m. (TH4). The road was disturbed at the end of the 4th century B.C. by the building of buttresses (TH4),¹⁰⁵ and later by the extension of the width of the old *proteichisma* (Fig. 79; inside the *proteichisma*, at left).¹⁰⁶

Apart from the outer road, a second ring road passed along the interior of the wall on the city side. Parts of it have been revealed at eight excavation sites. The road preserves three to six surfaces, while the width was variable, documented between 3.50 and 5 m. A section of a third road, possibly also another ring road, with a width from 4.50 to 5 m., parallel and outside of the moat, was identified in the area of the intersection of Aioulou and Sophokleous streets (TH28, TH29); it is the only known part of such a road in relation to the moat around the defensive circuit.

5 The early 3rd century B.C. *Diateichisma* and Macedonian fortress

Excavations carried out in the 1930s by the American archaeologists Homer Thompson and Robert Scranton revealed a fortification line along the ridge of the hills of the Muses, the Pnyx, and the Nymphs, the so-called *diateichisma* (Fig. 84).¹⁰⁷

Fig. 84: The *diateichisma* along the ridge of the Hill of the Muses (Philopappos). (ph. by author).

Initially, the excavators dated it to the late 4th century B.C.¹⁰⁸ Today, following a re-dating of the associated pottery, the

construction of the *diateichisma* is believed to date a little later, between 300 and the middle of the 280s B.C.¹⁰⁹ The new wall considerably reduced the original Themistoklean circuit in its western part, and functioned as a defensive arm throughout the rest of Antiquity, undergoing repeated repairs and reinforcements.¹¹⁰ In this section, the *diateichisma* and the Macedonian garrison fort, which enclosed a roughly polygonal area around the peak of the hill of the Muses, are considered together because of several shared structural elements.

The foundations of the *diateichisma* and the Macedonian fort were mostly set directly upon bedrock and were adapted to the corresponding configuration of the ground. They are double faced isodomic structures with a total wall thickness of between 2.75 and 3.40 m., and 2.00 to 3.50 m., respectively; such a small thickness for the double face wall type (2 m.), as in the Macedonian fort, it is not paralleled in any other excavated part of the Athenian circuit wall.¹¹¹ The fill of the curtain walls was deposited into several chambers formed by cross-walls. This type of construction, spanning along the whole length of the *diateichisma*, was so characteristic that the American excavators named it the 'Compartment Wall'¹¹²; the header blocks of each face project into the wall with their narrow sides meeting in the core, forming spaces that were filled in with stones, working chips and clay.¹¹³ The filling of both curtains and towers was brought to a level surface which was used as a bedding for bricks, the exclusive building material used above the stone socle.¹¹⁴ The tradition of using mud-bricks in the superstructure of the Athenian fortification appears to have been maintained until the beginning of the 3rd century B.C., when the Macedonian fort and *diateichisma* were built, despite the fact that these walls appear in a period when the all-stone typology had already established itself in Greek defences.

There is very little evidence for the form of the superstructure of these two constructions. We know that two parts of the fortifications were excluded from the roofing project described in *IG II*² 463 (307/6 B.C.): the so-called Dipylon above the Gates, and the *diateichisma* (II. 52–53). These two provisions were thought by Thompson and Scranton to concern the course of *diateichisma* across the western hills.¹¹⁵ Later, Gruben argued that the so-called Dipylon above the Gates was not the name of the gate through which the Koile road passed on the Pnyx hill, but that it was

instead the Hellenistic phase of the Dipylon in the Kerameikos: 'the architectural findings prove that there was no covered passage along the battlements, unlike the rest of the wall'.¹¹⁶ He therefore postulated that the roofing project was not implemented at the Kerameikos, and hence the gate excluded from the project was in fact the Kerameikos Dipylon and not another gate. The very identification of the *diateichisma* mentioned in IG II² 463 has also been questioned, an issue addressed in Chapter 1 (see p. 38).

The stone bases of the *diateichisma* and the Macedonian fort were constructed with the same building materials, principally conglomerate blocks and – more rarely – material in secondary use. The dimensions of the *diateichisma* blocks are the same as those in the rest of the city walls (length 1.35 m., height 0.65 m., and width from 0.48 to 0.50 m.).

The conglomerate stones of the *diateichisma* were often dressed and fitted with care; in some cases they kept their quarry faces, as can also be seen in the Macedonian fort.¹¹⁷ Drafted margins appeared in some joints of the corner blocks. At some points of the *diateichisma*, the external faces of the blocks were dressed almost flat. There are also blocks with *anathyrosis* and *periteneia*, elements that clearly identify them as reused stones.

Excavations of the *diateichisma* revealed the remains of five towers, rectangular (C1, C4), square (C3, C6), and circular (C5).¹¹⁸ The possible existence of two or three more towers from this phase of wall construction has been proposed on the basis of rock cuttings found north of the Pnyx hill and southwest of the East Stoa. Another tower (C2) is perhaps preserved beneath the foundations of the church of Agios Demetrios Loubardiaris, the counterpart of tower C3: these two towers would flank the main gate of the *diateichisma*, through which the Koile road passed. Another tower (C7) must have existed beneath the remains of a tower of the subsequent White Poros Wall, but has been completely destroyed. Excavations have therefore allowed us to calculate that the course of the *diateichisma* included at least 10 towers. The Macedonian fort on the hill of the Muses preserves the remains of three rectangular towers (D1, D2, T1), while a fourth (T2) ensured the protection of the fort.¹¹⁹ The towers of the wall along the western hills were generally built of the same material and with the same typological elements as the wall that they abut. The distribution of the towers along the *diateichisma* has been estimated from archaeological research on the hill of the Muses to

have been about 75–80 m.¹²⁰

The line of the *diateichisma* was punctuated by two gates, one, the so-called Dipylon above the Gates, located at the point crossed by the Koile road in the saddle between the hills of the Pnyx and the Muses, and the second north of the Pnyx, in the saddle between the hills of the Pnyx and the Nymphs¹²¹; the existence of posterns has also been suggested.¹²² The main gate was maintained until the Middle Ages,¹²³ and was where the Koile road passed through leading to the Piraeus; it consisted of two large towers that formed the sides of a broad entrance into a courtyard area, forming two strong arms; continuing beyond the towers, these arms led to the city side and to a thinner cross-wall, in the middle of which was the opening of the gate.

A century after the construction of the *diateichisma*, another wall known as the White Poros wall, which takes its name from its building material, strengthened the fortifications of the steep Pnyx hill upon a new course, laid out west of the *diateichisma*. Later, during the late Hellenistic period, following the Sullan destruction (87/6 B.C.), and during the Early Roman period (first half of the 1st century A.D.), the fortifications of the western hills were restored, as archaeological explorations have demonstrated. Finally, a Valerian phase has been recognised, as well as a Justinianic fortification. The reconstructions of these western defences are discussed in the following sections.

6 The period following the Chremonidean War (267–263/2 or 267–262/1 B.C.)

The Athenians who had provided their services in saving the city and repairing her walls were honoured after the Chremonidean War with decrees of the People (*IG II³* 1011 of 248/7 B.C. and *IG II³* 1160 of 229/8 B.C.) (see p. 40). The work for which they were recognised cannot, however, currently be associated with any specific archaeological discoveries. The fact remains that in the late 3rd century B.C., Philip V of Macedon was not able to invade Athens (Livy 31.24.9). Therefore, the wall must have received all necessary repairs after the long siege during the Chremonidean War, so that the city could mount an effective defence. Within this period of the Athenian fortifications could perhaps belong sections of walls which have been dated in general to the Hellenistic period, or which remain undated. The exhaustive study of the relevant

archaeological material in the Archive of the Archaeological Service could perhaps provide some answers.

7 The second century B.C.: the White Poros Wall on the Pnyx and works to the south

During the 2nd century B.C., the Athenians strengthened their defences along the ridge of the three western hills by repairing the old *diateichisma*. They replaced the *diateichisma* on the Pnyx with a wall planned on a new line. Because of the main building material used in its construction, this wall was called the White Poros Wall by Thompson and Scranton¹²⁴; this is probably the same material with which the fortification peribolos of the Piraeus was built, but also the Long Walls that connected Athens to the Piraeus.¹²⁵

This wall was originally dated by its excavators to the late 3rd century B.C.¹²⁶ Thompson argued, however, after a re-dating of the pottery, that the construction must be lowered to around 200 B.C.¹²⁷ Alternatively, Conwell has proposed a chronology that covers the period from the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. until the end of the 170s B.C.¹²⁸ On the rocky hill on which this new wall was raised, the enemy was forced to approach by a steeper slope than that which had previously faced them. Additionally, they would have to cope with the Athenian catapults which fired from new towers of great size, the power of which substantially underpinned the defensive plan of the early 2nd century B.C.¹²⁹

The White Poros Wall was strong and of an elaborate construction. It not only made wide use of its eponymous building material but also incorporated conglomerate stones from earlier fortifications. Unlike the *diateichisma* of the early 3rd century B.C., which was of the double faced type with cross-walls forming separate inner chambers, this later wall was built entirely in stone; one layer, consisting only of stretcher blocks, succeeded by the next built only with headers, and behind the layer with stretchers lay a series of headers and vice versa; this was the so-called *la maniera romana*.¹³⁰ Scranton reasoned from the great mass of stone chips found in the foundation trench that the all-stone construction may have continued to the full height of the superstructure.¹³¹

The thickness of the White Poros Wall ranges from 1.35 to 2 m., which is generally considered very small for fortifications of the Hellenistic period. However, it is likely the *parodos* of the wall was

ultimately much larger, perhaps twice as wide.¹³² This hypothesis arises from the interpretation of a series of transverse structures or buttresses, length 1.35 to 1.40 m., which were built into the internal face of the wall at equal intervals of 4.60 m.: it has been proposed that these were the stone bases that underpinned brick arches that in turn acted as supports for the *parodos* of the wall.¹³³ It has also been suggested that at the same time the older *diateichisma* continued to function as a defensive wall.¹³⁴

Excavations along the White Poros wall on the Pnyx revealed the remains of six towers that were roughly square (W1, W3, W4, W5, W6, W7), and one with short straight sides and a rounded front (Fig. 85, W2). Because of the poor conservation of the remains it is not easy to see how the towers were connected to the wall. Their projection in front of the wall, however, exceeded 9 m. and their width was 10 m.,¹³⁵ while the walls of the towers had a thickness of 2 m. (W3, W6).¹³⁶ They were constructed using the same material as the wall.

Fig. 85: Hellenistic tower between the Pnyx and the Hill of the Nymphs (W2) with straight sides and a circular front section. It belongs to the so-called White Poros Wall. Thompson/Scranton (1943) 339, fig. 44.

As to the density of the towers, the curtain walls of the old *diateichisma* on the hill of the Muses had a length of about 75–80 m., as we saw above (see p. 201), while those of the White Poros Wall had a length of 40 m.¹³⁷ The reduction of the spacing of the towers by half, one century later, can be assumed to be related to a change in their defensive value: it seems that at the end of the 3rd century B.C., the existence of a large number of towers was vital, partly because it minimized the unguarded lengths of the curtains and secondly because the all-stone towers held the defenders' heavy and bulky war machines; battle from the walls had turned from defence to attack.¹³⁸ It is thus expected that there were similar towers at other points along the circuit wall in this period.

The reinforcement of the wall in the 2nd century B.C. included a redesign of the gate through which the Koile road passed to the south of the Pnyx. This gate, in the period of the White Poros Wall, preserved the basic elements of the previous period, but with the addition of two large internal piers closing what had until then

been an open exit to the outside by building an outer door, 3.94 m. in width (Fig. 86).¹³⁹

Fig. 86: Cross-section of the central gate of the *diateichisma* (black) which was built over the axis of the Koile road, with additions of the White Poros Wall (grey). Thompson/Scranton (1943) 318, fig. 29.

The iron door pivot on which the gate swung was found in situ, leading the excavators to conclude that the door must have opened inward to the side of the city, possibly facilitating the swift return of sorties.¹⁴⁰ This modification of the gate's design, from open to closed, is considered critical in fortification architecture, because it marks the transition from passive to active defence by the besieged, with surprise raids against the enemy.¹⁴¹ The increase in the number of postern gates documented in the White Poros Wall is also connected with this evolution.¹⁴² Similarly, works were undertaken during the late Hellenistic period at the Kerameikos Dipylon, where the gate was modified to close the exit formerly open to the outside by placing a pier in the middle of the opening.¹⁴³

Rescue excavations carried out to the south of the Acropolis also revealed that the Themistoklean peribolos was strengthened during the 2nd century B.C. with the building of a new defensive line, perhaps a subsidiary of the main wall (TH98, TH100, TH101). This entirely new wall of the southern arm was double-faced and filled with rubble, while in one case the wall was partitioned into smaller sections (TH98). A characteristic feature of this wall is the reuse of earlier building materials, such as conglomerate blocks of unequal sizes which were filled in with small plugs or 'wedges' at the intermediate gaps (TH14, TH101).

The conversion of the *proteichisma* into a wall is another fortification component characterizing the interventions of the 2nd century B.C. The *proteichisma* offered a strong foundation for the new construction, which now served as the primary fortification line, while the older parallel wall possibly retained its defensive value (TH89, TH96). The conversion of the *proteichisma* into a wall resurfaces again in the 1st century B.C. (TH67) and in late Roman times (TH4, TH13), in a form that we will consider below (see p. 209).

8 The period after the Sullan invasion (87/6 B.C.)

Ancient sources indicate that in the mid-1st century B.C., four decades after the destruction of the walls by Sulla's army, the Athenians mounted a strong resistance against a siege by the Roman general Calenus in 48 B.C. (see p. 42). There is epigraphic evidence (*IG II² 1035*) for operations carried out on the defensive moat, most likely in the time of Augustus but perhaps earlier,¹⁴⁴ while the fill of the moat revealed evidence for the cleaning of the city after the Sullan destruction, with abundant sherds dating mainly from the 1st century B.C. to the 1st century A.D. In the absence of any associated ancient references, there should nonetheless have been repairs to the wall itself, given that, as it turned out, after having ensured the aid of the army and fleet of the Roman allies, the city was in a position to block the enemy by fighting within her own defensive walls.

Repairs to the fortifications are archaeologically attested in the late 1st century B.C. in the Kerameikos, at the *diateichisma* and possibly at 5–7–9 Vourvachi street. Following the Sullan invasion, the banks of the Eridanos were reinforced at the Sacred Gate (TH1).¹⁴⁵ A reconstruction phase of the wall has been observed during the same period along the ridge of the three western hills, with building materials in secondary use.¹⁴⁶ In the excavations on Vourvachi street (TH67), part of the width of the 4th century B.C. *proteichisma* was used as a foundation for a new wall (Figs. 87–88).¹⁴⁷

Fig. 87: Plan with the fortification elements brought to light in the excavation at 5–7–9 Vourvachi street (TH67) in 1970. From left to right: (1) wall of the 4th century B.C., (2) extramural ring-road, (3) wall after the 1st century B.C. or Valerian wall, (4) *proteichisma*, (5) moat and (6) outer retaining wall of the moat. Alexandri (1972b) 45, fig. 15. © Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Fig. 88: Part of the *proteichisma* (below) from 5–7–9 Vourvachi street (TH67), which formed the base of the later city wall (above). Excavation of 1970. Travlos Archive, photography folder 112 (Photographs from Athens). Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Other building remains of this phase are not archaeologically documented for the 1st century B.C., a fact connected with Zosimos' assessment (1.29.3) that the Athenians did not take care of their walls after Sulla's destruction. Although there is evidence to suggest that the Athenian state did take immediate care to repair the city's infrastructure,¹⁴⁸ as attested by the sponsorship of Roman officials (see pp. 42–43), our knowledge of the walls of this period remains incomplete.¹⁴⁹

9 The period of the Emperors Valerian (A.D. 253–260) and Gallienus (A.D. 260–268)

The new so-called Valerian wall acquired by Athens in the 3rd century A.D. was adapted to the remains of earlier fortifications, especially in its northern and western parts. On the eastern side of the Late Roman city, the line of the wall was changed completely and re-modelled onto a new course, enclosing an area that previously had not needed to be protected. The construction of this wall made wide use of the ruined sections of the formerly powerful fortifications that had been left in ruins over a long period in which the city had remained unfortified, probably after Calenus' siege in 48 B.C.¹⁵⁰

The Valerian wall was founded upon the remnants of the old Themistoklean wall, the *diateichisma*,¹⁵¹ the *proteichisma*, and occasionally over the old roads that appear to have been removed or relocated elsewhere; it was also set into the fill of the defensive moat, and within areas previously occupied by other buildings, such as the Roman stoa at 2 Vourvachi and Syngrou (TH73).¹⁵² The new eastern Valerian arm was founded directly on the bedrock or into cuttings in it, and onto parts of the Classical cemetery that extended beyond the Themistoklean wall along the length of Stadiou and Panepistimiou streets up to the north edge of Amalias Avenue.¹⁵³

The building of the Valerian wall onto existing remains of the *proteichisma* allowed the *proteichisma* itself to be utilised as the outer face of the new wall, with the addition of a parallel inner wall with sufficient fill between them; in this case, the new wall breached or possibly eliminated the outer ring road that ran between the wall and the *proteichisma*. One other possible case of conversion of the *proteichisma* into a wall, which has been dated to the time of Hadrian,¹⁵⁴ is the stretch found in front of curtain wall

lb at the Kerameikos, in the section between the Sacred Gate and the Dipylon (Fig. 79, TH1, 5b). This part of the *proteichisma* must from some point on have functioned as the main line of defence, after curtain wall 1b was covered over by the west side of the Roman Pompeion, whose construction dates between A.D. 123–161.¹⁵⁵ Unlike the Roman phase, the construction of the first Pompeion at the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 4th century B.C. had fully respected the older wall. New archaeological research may clarify the question of dating this enlarged *proteichisma* at the Kerameikos (5b) and consider its possible function as the main curtain wall between the Sacred and the Dipylon gates.

The Valerian wall retained the earlier double-face structural type in stone with inner filling to the full height of the superstructure. Its thickness must have been adapted to the respective underlying constructions that it used as foundations, and thus the preserved parts of the wall exhibit a large range in thickness, such as that between excavated sites TH73 (width 4.50 m.) and TH75 (width 2.10 m.). The entirely new addition of the Valerian section southwest of the Pnyx (next to tower W5) had a thickness of 3 m., as did the sections to the east (V5, V7, V11, V12). A calculation of the final height of the Valerian wall is not possible from the surviving remains because they are preserved only to a low level, typically from 0.75 to 1.50 m., and it is only in the National Gardens, west of the junction of Irodou Attikou and Lykeiou streets (V12), that the surviving height reached 2.30 m.

The blocks of the Valerian wall were built in successive courses, but not to any specific typology. Many kinds of building materials were used for the two faces of the wall: large poros blocks, conglomerate stones and – less frequently – limestone, all derived from architectural members in secondary or tertiary use (Fig. 89, V20), fragments of sculptures, tombstones, but also building material from ruined earlier fortifications. The gap between the two faces was similarly filled in with a variety of materials, such as architectural fragments and sculptures, inscriptions, small stones and bricks or broken tiles. The connecting material between the blocks of the faces of the Valerian wall was sturdy lime mortar. Spolia used in the wall are sometimes connected with metal clamps, and this kind of connection between blocks in the Valerian fortification has been proposed as a chronological marker for differentiating them from the subsequent repair phase following

the Herulian invasion. This element, however, is more likely to result from the fact that the blocks are in secondary contexts, having retained marks of their earlier use, including, for example, the channels cut for metal clamps.¹⁵⁶

Fig. 89: Section of the Valerian wall in the plot at 24–26 Veikou street (V20). Two immured column drums can be distinguished in the left corner. Above, the courtyard of the 3rd Girls' High School during break time. Excavation of 1969. Travlos Archive, photography folder 112 (Photographs from Athens). Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

The particular masonry of the Valerian circuit wall must have arisen from the type of local materials available, the level of preservation of the earlier building phases of the fortification in each area of the city, but was also related to the inevitably considerable variation of methods used by the different contractors¹⁵⁷; variability in the quality of work has also been observed, where some sections were built with characteristic diligence (V7,¹⁵⁸ TH73), while others were clearly more careless (V12). For example, in the plot of the old Royal Stables, towards Stadiou street (V4), the masonry of the wall is rough, but towards Voukourestiou street (V5), it becomes more intricate. We might also recognise these poorer sections of masonry as belonging to later remains, perhaps hasty repairs undertaken at times of barbarian threats.

The construction of the Valerian peribolos consumed a great amount of earlier buildings and fortifications, either drawing from their materials or by incorporating entire sections of them. The proximity of parts of the wall to older buildings provided abundant and uniform building material, ready for transposition into the new structure. The wall builders also resorted to plundering the stones of the Olympieion precinct, making particular use of rectangular blocks of poros and marble; one especially large portion of the Olympieion peribolos itself functioned as a continuation of the Valerian wall. It should be noted that the Valerian wall was a strong construction, which has much to do with the use of durable mortar as well as its overall masonry.

Few Valerian towers have been investigated archaeologically. They are principally rectangular structures built in the same materials and masonry style as their respective curtain walls (Fig.

90). They were founded deeper than their adjoining walls (V8, TH5), as in the previous construction phases. Along the line of the *diateichisma*, the addition of a Valerian tower has been recorded on the remains of tower C3, which belongs to the gate over the Koile road; and at the eastern arm of the Valerian wall, archaeological investigations have brought to light the foundations of four towers (V5, V7, V8, V10).

Fig. 90: Foundations of a tower projecting in front of the adjacent section of the Valerian wall at the junction of Vasilissis Sophias avenue with Panepistimiou street (V8). Excavation of 1974. For a modern view of the remains, see Fig. 120. Themelis (1974–1974), pl. 98β. © Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

The small number of surviving Valerian towers does not allow a secure estimate of their distances from each another: along the eastern arm, the space ranges from around 65 m. (V7–V8) to 120 m. (V5–V7) and 200 m. (V8–V10). It is not known whether these calculations certainly relate to the original succession of the towers, therefore the estimate of the total number of Valerian towers is impossible for this area. The only known distance between two consecutive towers occurs at part of the southern wall and is 42 m.¹⁵⁹ Their dimensions, however, match the towers of the so-called Justinianic building phase.

Our knowledge of the typology of the gates in the Valerian wall is also inadequate. For the western hills, we do know that the gate through which the Koile road passed was redesigned with the addition of a small tower between the two outer towers, while at the same time a second gate was constructed further to the north, west of the East Stoa and the Pnyx, with materials in secondary use, perhaps dressed blocks from the White Poros Wall.¹⁶⁰

The existence of a defensive moat of the Valerian wall is evidenced by excavations south of the Olympieion.¹⁶¹ A hastily built moat was dug at the Kerameikos before the Dipylon, limiting the width of the road that passed through the gate; this moat was filled in towards the end of the 3rd century A.D.¹⁶² These are the only cases of a moat mentioned in the excavation reports of the Valerian wall.

10 The period after the Herulian invasion (A.D.

The Late Roman interior wall of Athens, or the Post-Herulian Wall, was built during the reconstruction of the city after the invasion of the Heruli in A.D. 267.¹⁶³ The two walls of this period, the outer Valerian and the inner Post-Herulian, were erected within a few decades of each other, and they share many common features in their form, building materials, and generally in their masonry.

The structure of the Post-Herulian wall maintained the double-faced stone typology with inner fill to the full height of the superstructure. In cases where the wall was founded on bedrock, cuttings were first dug into the rock. The foundations often comprised rough stones, bonded with lime or fragments of marble and tiles but also horizontal slabs that served as footings for the coursed masonry (PH11, PH23). The thickness of each face ranges from 0.40 to 0.70 m., while the total thickness of the wall is between 2.50 and 3.50 m. The superstructure of the walls is believed to have reached 11.50 m., not including the battlements, a height revealed at the Stoa of Attalos before the reconstruction works on that monument.¹⁶⁴

The Post-Herulian wall, like the Valerian, was generally built onto the remains of older buildings or in contact with them. Parts of the inner face of the wall in the area of the Agora (PH2) were founded onto remains of the Eleusinion: at the Roman stoa on the southern boundary of the precinct, at the propylon, but also on the retaining wall of the Eleusinion.¹⁶⁵ Further north, the exterior face of the wall was founded upon the stylobate of the southeast colonnade of the Library of Pantainos, and another part of the preserved wall to the east of the Stoa of Attalos was set onto the foundations of Classical law-courts.¹⁶⁶ Another case of the Post-Herulian wall using an earlier building as its foundations was revealed by rescue excavations in a series of properties on Adrianou street, where the wall was incorporated into the large Hadrianic building, perhaps the so-called Pantheon, which extended between Mnisikleous, Adrianou, Aioulou, and Diogenous streets.¹⁶⁷

The incorporation of entire walls of older buildings into the fabric of the fortification had the positive result of preserving these structures over the centuries. This was the case for buildings on the south slope of the Acropolis, such as the Theatre of Dionysos, the Stoa of Eumenes, and the Herodeion, and also on

the north slope of the Acropolis in the area of the Agora, in the region of the Stoa of Attalos, and at the Library of Hadrian, which were built in contact with the Post-Herulian wall.

The building materials of the wall were not collected at random or hurriedly, but after careful selection of suitable blocks with a view to the stability of the whole construction. This choice appears to have taken as a basic principal the size and strength of the materials: at the Stoa of Eumenes (PH27), it has been observed that a large number of the courses of the original Stoa wall, which was built of soft poros, was replaced by other, harder stones, with a view to improving the strength and establishing a defensive function for the wall.¹⁶⁸ In the Agora (PH2), the Late Roman peribolos was constructed with carefully assembled blocks within its faces, and it is characteristic that, despite the fact that this particular area suffered during the Herulian invasion, the building materials of damaged architectural members of the wall do not bear traces of severe destruction or fire; they may have been removed selectively from the monuments to which they belonged.¹⁶⁹

It is clear in places that the construction embraced aesthetic criteria, for example in the attempt to imitate the form of the buildings neighbouring or in contact with the wall.¹⁷⁰ Most of the wall preserved at the Library of Hadrian exhibits a continuity of the masonry style of the facade and colonnade of the Library (PH5). Another typical example of this tendency is the preserved wall east of the northeast corner of the so-called Pantheon, where the Post-Herulian wall was built with large poros blocks in isodomic masonry similar to that of the large Hadrianic building (PH18). Coursed masonry was also adopted with particular care close to the northeastern angle of the curtain at 96 Adrianou street (PH21), in the case of the reused poros stones well-built in pseudo-isodomic style.¹⁷¹

The building materials were bonded with mortar, which in the faces contained lime, sand and crushed or small pieces of tile, while the core contained less the lime mortar.¹⁷² In other parts of the peribolos there is a complete absence of any binding material.¹⁷³ A new building material – albeit rarely used – was brick connected with lime mortar, which was set in both faces of the wall, and in the core; at the Stoa of Eumenes these bricks were thick and placed in many irregular layers (PH27), while there is a unique case at the Medrese (PH9) of the use of mixed masonry,

with two zones of stones alternating with zones of bricks.

In the area of the Agora (PH2), archaeological investigation has revealed seven towers (W1–W7), while the remainder of the Post-Herulian wall preserves a further two towers (PH23, PH25). They are rectangular in plan with walls 1.40–1.90 m. thick (Fig. 33, PH2), and inside their construction, just as with the wall, the foundations incorporate building materials in secondary use.¹⁷⁴ A characteristic example is the use in the ten uppermost courses of tower W6, in the middle of the Stoa of Attalos, of 100 blocks of Hymettian marble belonging to the square base in front of the Stoa, possibly in honour of Attalos II, the ruler of Pergamon.¹⁷⁵

There was probably a total of eight gates or posterns of the Post-Herulian wall on the north slope of the Acropolis. Five of these gates took their names in modern times from the churches that were built next to them, such as the Hypapanti, the Christ Church, the Panagia Pyrgiotissa (PH2), the church of the Agion Asomaton sta Skalia next to the propylon of the Library of Hadrian (PH6), and the Megali Panagia (PH8).¹⁷⁶ A postern gate was identified in the line of the wall to the east, at 94 Adrianou street (PH20), and perhaps there were two further gates, which have not been excavated, next to the demolished churches of Agios Demetrios Katiphoris and Panagia tou Sarri. A gate served the communication of the Library of Hadrian with the walled settlement north of the Acropolis; this has been revealed by excavations at the western edge of the southern peribolos of the Library of Hadrian (PH5).¹⁷⁷

11 The Early Christian period (4th–5th centuries A.D.)

With the exception of the fortification work undertaken by Iamblichos, attested by an inscription (see p. 48), there are no other significant references by ancient authors to an Early Christian building phase. It is thus not known how well Athens was fortified when Alaric arrived at the gates in A.D. 396. Excavations in the Agora have traced the beginning of a general recovery after the Herulian invasion only in the second half of the 4th century A.D.¹⁷⁸ Archaeological work has not revealed finds of this period from sections of fortification works along the Post-Herulian Wall, nor at the outer Valerian peribolos, but the epigraphic evidence for defensive works shows that it is likely that projects of this kind

were undertaken alongside the building expansion that has been noted in the area of the Agora. In the late 4th or early 5th century A.D., the city gradually spread into the area between the inner (Post-Herulian) and outer (Valerian) walls, and it is believed that, for this reason, the works which Iamblichos oversaw should relate to the reconstruction of the old Valerian wall.¹⁷⁹

With regard specifically to the Dipylon, Brückner conducted an excavation about 12 m. south of the ancient gate. He related the discoveries to the reference of Himerios to the Panathenaic procession (*Oratio* 47.12), supporting the view that the foundations of the 4th century A.D. were the remains of a fortified gate of the Athenian walls.¹⁸⁰ Subsequent studies, however, have offered a different interpretation for this gate. According to Hoepfner, these foundations belong to a 'processional' gate (Festtor), which dates to the period between the middle of the 4th and the early 5th century A.D.¹⁸¹ The same gate was recognized later as a 'processional' gate also by Rügler, who dated it to the early 5th century A.D., after Alaric's invasion.¹⁸²

Of the numerous subsequent repairs of the Valerian wall, to which only general references are made in the archaeological reports, or of relatively careless structures that are evidenced by archaeological excavations and remain undated (V5, TH97, V12), some may well belong to the Early Christian period. In any case, the fortifications of the Early Christian period appear to be built with masonry based on the principles of the Roman construction tradition.¹⁸³ Late Roman and Early Christian fortifications both contain common masonry characteristics, which are difficult to isolate as components of a single building phase. Examples include the reuse of architectural members taken from damaged buildings, and the wide use of lime mortar.

In the early 5th century A.D., a large fortification programme was inaugurated by the Emperor Theodosius II (A.D. 408–450) in Illyricum, the Imperial province to which Athens belonged, a project that was continued by Theodosius' successors.¹⁸⁴ Although we are not in a position to know if the Athenian walls were included in the general programme of fortification repairs of the Byzantine state, it has been established that building activity was undertaken in the Agora under Herculus, Prefect of Illyricum (A.D. 407–412)¹⁸⁵; the building of walls at Megara¹⁸⁶ and Hexamilia¹⁸⁷ are also attributed to him. As already noted, there are no references in the written sources to systematic fortification works

at Athens in the early 5th century A.D. The study of these issues depends primarily on the progress of archaeological fieldwork.¹⁸⁸

12 The Justinianic period (A.D. 527–565)

The fortifications of the city were extensively reinforced in the early Byzantine period, as excavations have shown in various parts of the city. The most important repairs and rebuilding of the defensive line are chiefly located in the west, upon the earlier fortification courses of the *diateichisma* and the White Poros Wall on the Pnyx.¹⁸⁹ These largely consist of filling the gaps that had opened in the cores of the previous fortification between the two faces of the wall with rough stones mixed with other materials and bonded with lime mortar.¹⁹⁰ Specific Justinianic repairs are possibly identified in other, albeit few, parts of the circuit wall (TH1, TH98, V15).

Reinforcement of the fortifications of the Byzantine city is documented also along the smaller late Roman interior wall. According to the excavators, the facade of the Library of Hadrian between the propylon and the south colonnade (PH6) was converted in the Justinianic period into a defensive wall.¹⁹¹ The gate with elaborate sculptural decoration discovered at 80 Adrianou street (PH13) on top of the course of the Post-Herulian wall and under the ruins of the Church of the Panagia Krystalliotissa, was also characterised as Justinianic,¹⁹² although the chronology is disputed. It is believed that the gate must have been built at a later time, perhaps during the 11th century, in part of the wall which had in the meantime been destroyed.¹⁹³ Subsequent repairs are identified in other excavated sites along the Post-Herulian wall, although it is not possible to assign them to specific historical periods (PH3, PH4, PH9).¹⁹⁴ It remains uncertain whether Justinian's interventions on the Post-Herulian wall were purely defensive in nature, given the well-documented extensive interventions that took place in the same period on the external Valerian peribolos, particularly its reinforcement with towers, examined below; towers with similar masonry have not been documented on the line of the interior peribolos.¹⁹⁵

The most important fortification intervention at this time was the construction of a new type of tower built in between those that already existed from previous building phases. Of the 27 towers, 15 were uncovered along the line of the western hills during the

systematic excavation of the *diateichisma*.¹⁹⁶ The remaining 12 were identified by rescue excavations both on the original Themistoklean line and at parts of the Valerian course.¹⁹⁷ The 12 towers brought to light seem too few, considering the density of towers of the same period along the *diateichisma* (a tower every 35 to 40 m.). This would indicate that, if all the arms of the wall were reinforced with the same uniformity, then the foundations of unknown Justinianic towers can be expected to be uncovered in several other parts of the peribolos.

The towers of the early Byzantine period were constructed independently, and were attached to the outer face of the earlier fortifications, not connected structurally to the wall.¹⁹⁸ This independence has been interpreted in the context of changes in the military strategy of the Byzantine provinces and possibly the emergence of a new,¹⁹⁹ independent role for towers: perhaps they were autonomous forts, such as those mentioned by Procopius,²⁰⁰ with independent entrances and internal stairs leading to the floors.²⁰¹

The construction of these towers shows clear similarities in design, building materials and masonry. Their form was square or nearly square, the dimensions of the sides usually about 5 to 6 m., and the usual thickness of the walls 1 m. (Figs. 91–92).²⁰²

Fig. 91: Remains of the *proteichisma* from the mid-4th century B.C. (centre left) and the corner of a tower (centre right), which was built with mortared rubble onto the ruins of the *proteichisma*, possibly during the Justinianic period (TH76). Excavation of 1967 at 6 Koryzi street. Alexandri (1968e)pl. 34ε. © Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Fig. 92: Remains of the corner of a tower on the pedestrianised Irakleidon street (TH114), possibly Justinianic; see also Fig. 122. (ph. by author).

Small variations in their dimensions must be due to the forms of the earlier fortification or to the morphology of the ground. The tower walls were not made with cut blocks, as in the preceding periods of the city's defences, but with rough unworked stones. The building materials included older blocks of every type.²⁰³ These different stones were connected together with strong mortar, forming a rubble masonry: ²⁰⁴ the faces of wall were

finished off with a coat of plaster.²⁰⁵ Occasionally the addition of broken tiles has been noted. The initial height of the towers and the curtain walls of this mortared rubble work cannot be deduced because they are only preserved at the level of their foundations.²⁰⁶

Although archaeological study might be expected to have identified some differences in the design or structure of the towers dated over so a long period of time, between the 4th and 6th century A.D., this has not proved possible. Investigations of the structural characteristics of the supposed Justinianic towers might indicate to what extent their masonry tended towards the Late Roman constructions or, conversely, to the Early Christian, or the Early Byzantine period of the 6th century A.D.²⁰⁷

Information about the placement of gates in the early Byzantine fortifications of the 6th century A.D is also scant. Repairs at the Sacred Gate are likely to be from this period, as might also be the brick vaulted cover of the Eridanos and the large marble arch.²⁰⁸ Archaeological research has not, however, recognised the same construction phase at the Dipylon.²⁰⁹ It is probably certain that the gate south of the Pnyx over the Koile road operated as the west entrance to the city from Piraeus during the Justinianic phase; the old Valerian tower of the gate was reconstructed entirely, while a strong pier was added to the south tower.²¹⁰

The Greek cities retained until the middle of the 6th century A.D. the same basic elements of architectural forms adopted in Late Antiquity.²¹¹ But there was a gradual decline of mortared rubble work, the use of which is believed to have been obsolete by the 6th century A.D.²¹² For these reasons, the Athenian towers with mortared construction and building material in secondary use are works that may also be assigned to pre-Justinianic periods. The excavation reports often note the perplexity of archaeologists on the chronological inclusion of the towers to one of those two periods, Late Roman or Justinianic, often preferring the latter (TH63, TH76, TH96, V5, PH6).²¹³ As a result, the notion has prevailed that the defensive force of the Valerian wall was renewed and augmented with towers in the time of Justinian.²¹⁴ Yet the above issues make the unconditional acceptance of their dating difficult, and in this light we cannot rule out the theory that these towers were built in earlier times, such as before Alaric's invasion of the city in the late 4th century A.D. A more complete knowledge and new data on the form and role of fortifications in Greece

during the respective periods may result in more secure hypotheses.²¹⁵

13 Summary

In this chapter, we presented the form of the Athenian walls across the different periods of its history, a synthesis drawn from the study of archaeological information (see Catalogue of Sites). From the 15 distinct periods of wall building mentioned by written sources, some are fully attested by surviving dated remains, and others only partially. With this in mind, we have occasionally urged in the foregoing section the need to investigate within the old diaries of past excavations new information about the morphological features of the discoveries, the precise dating of which is not always reported in the published results. Many aspects of various questions shall continue to remain open for investigation.

The basic structural elements of the Athenian wall were divided into three typologies: the rubble-filled double faced, the all-stone, and that which includes the division of the wall's core into compartments, a structure which was applied mainly to the so-called Compartment Wall or *diateichisma*. These construction types were dictated on each occasion by the various local conditions of the ground or by the preservation level of the fortifications upon which subsequent constructions were founded. They were adopted principally with a view to responding effectively to the new weaponry introduced in siege warfare.

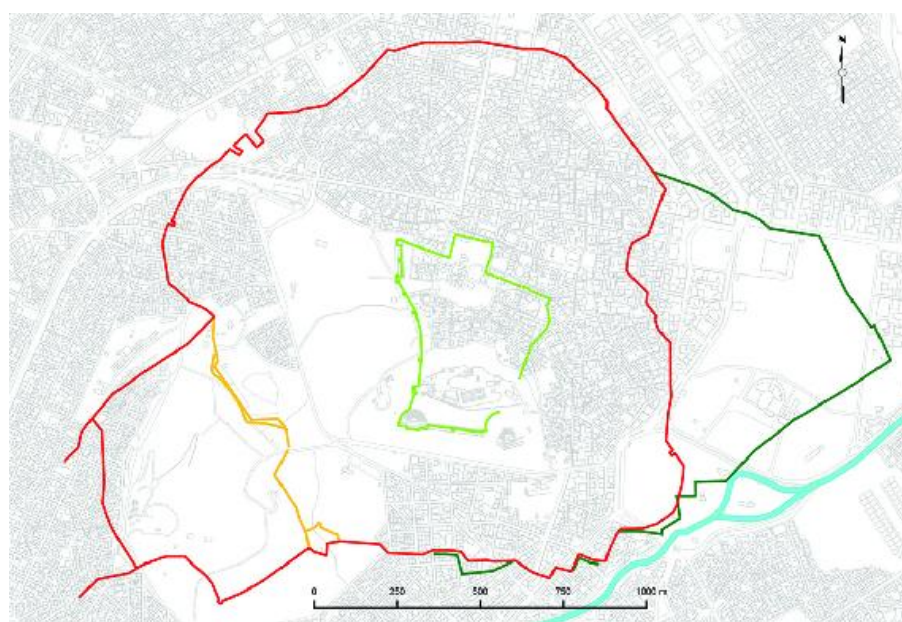
The double-faced wall was a well-established fortification tradition of Athens from the 5th century B.C. until the late Roman period. The faces of the walls were built in courses either without any masonry style, by simply placing the blocks next to one another closely fitted, either polygon or polygon-verging-on-irregular trapezoidal, or in the isodomic style. The building material of the faces was often reused poros blocks, other architectural members and sculptural fragments, as well as polygonal limestone and conglomerate blocks. The limestone blocks had either a quarry face or were treated in several elaborate ways, such as hammered, broached, furrowed, or even roughly flat work; the blocks were often bonded together with serrations and plugs at their joints.

As to the all-stone socles, those dated to the Themistoklean

period consisted of poros blocks in secondary use, laid as headers; later, at the end of the fourth century B.C. the stone base of the wall was repaired and built up of conglomerate blocks. The all-stone Hellenistic walls were larger in thickness, reaching about 5 m., and this may be a reason why they constitute today the majority of the preserved foundations. They are immediately recognisable because of their common isodomic masonry and the alternating arrangement of blocks in header and stretcher layers. The outer face of these stones remained rough, without any special decorative treatment. The Hellenistic towers were rectangular, square, and occasionally semi-circular; they were built with the same masonry and were of larger dimensions in relation to their predecessors.

On top of the stone socle, the Athenian walls were in general made of mud-brick, although there are cases where they were constructed entirely of stone, possibly up to their final height. A brick superstructure was not part of the Late Roman phase, while the supposed Justinianic fortification was built in rubble masonry using strong mortar.

This investigation has shown, finally, that, despite the absence of systematically quarried building material in the Themistoklean wall, and despite the major use of spolia, the Themistoklean stone base was an elaborate and robust construction, albeit undertaken in haste under the pressure of historical events: its defensive power was renewed several times along the same line either with local repairs or with systematic rebuilding of the whole circuit until Late Roman times; the Valerian fortification was then expanded eastward and southward, increasing the extent of the walled city in those directions. In the next chapter, we will turn to the course of the walls throughout Antiquity, investigating any modifications or additions to the initial Themistoklean circuit.



LEGEND

ARCHAEOLOGICAL ELEMENTS IN PLANS

SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTION

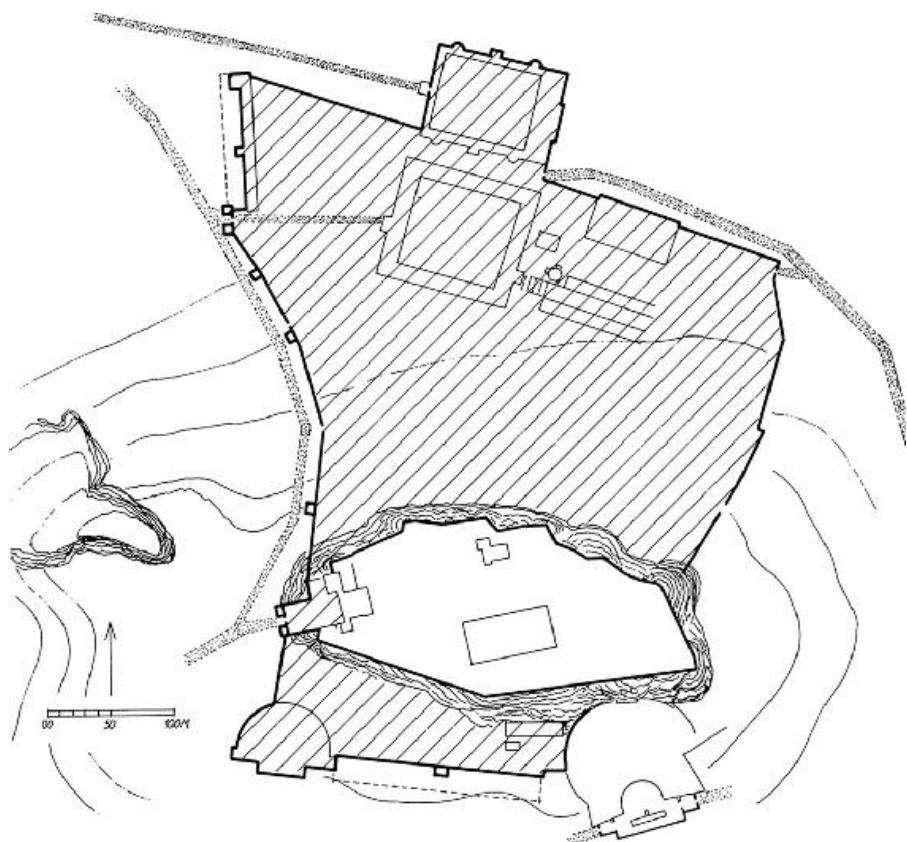
- Themistoklean Wall
- *Dioteichisma*
- Valerian Wall
- Post-Herulian Wall
- Ilissos River

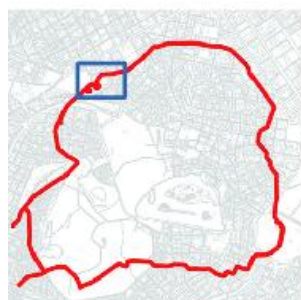
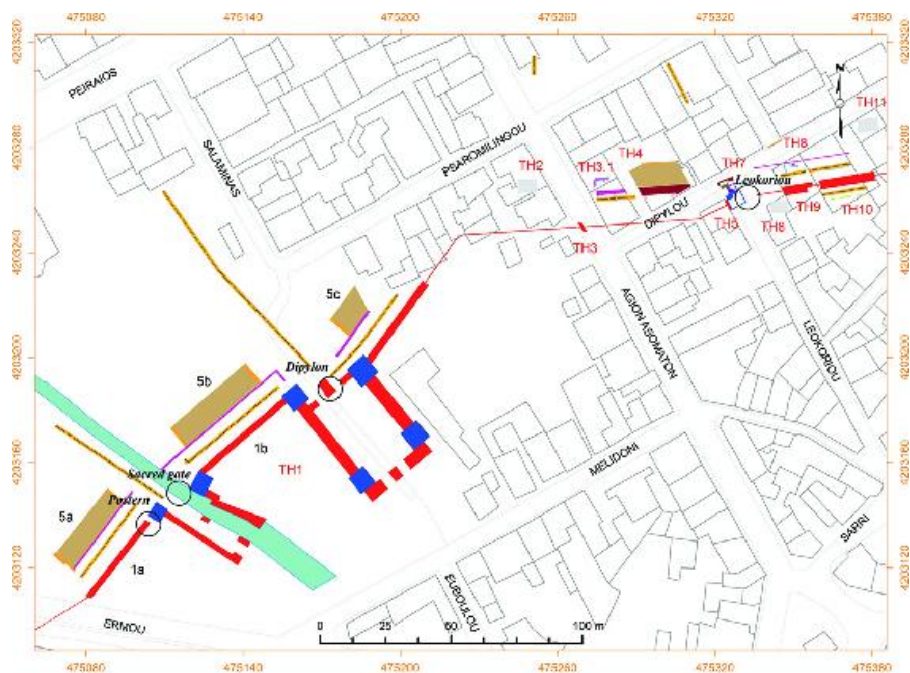
- Gate/Postern
- Ancient Road

REMAINS

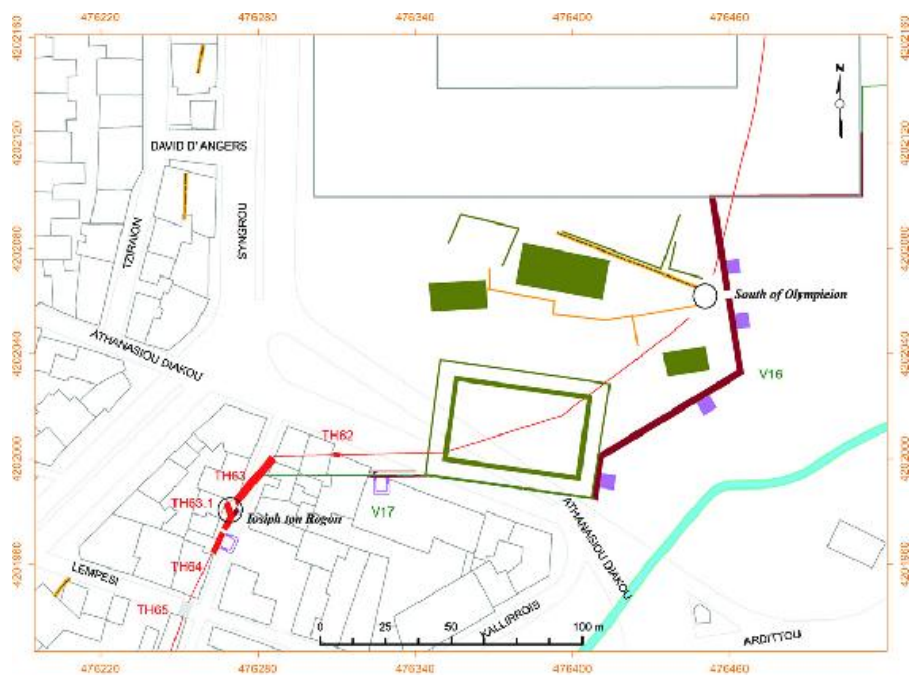
- Themistoklean Wall
- Themistoklean Tower
- Proteichisma
- Buttress
- Moat
- Moat Retaining Wall
- Road Retaining Wall

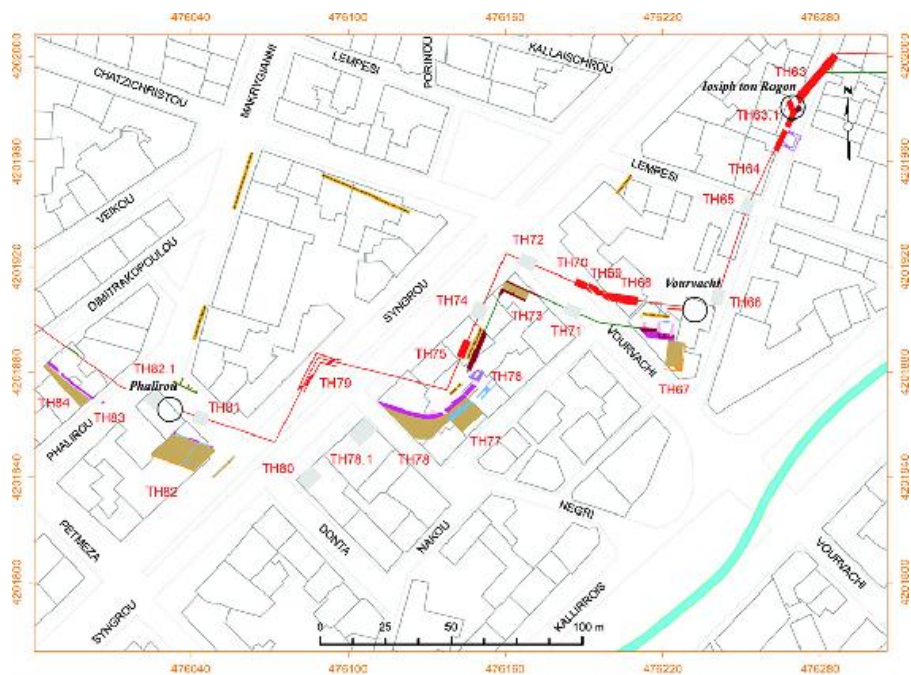
- Valerian Wall
- Valerian Tower
- Justinianic Tower
- Building
- Drain
- Approximate location

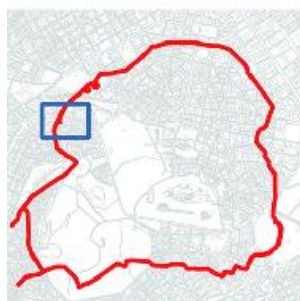
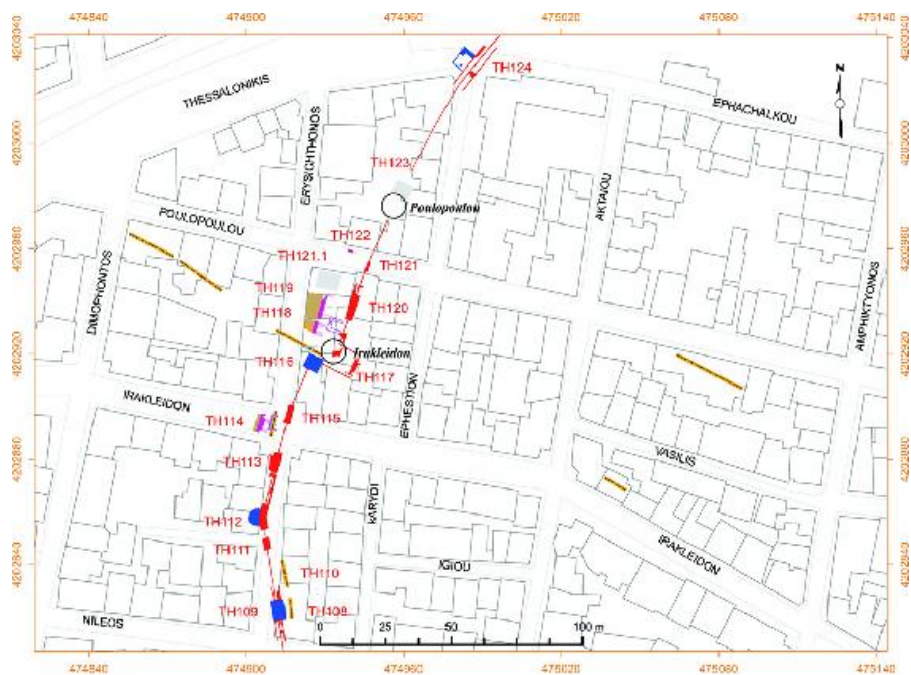


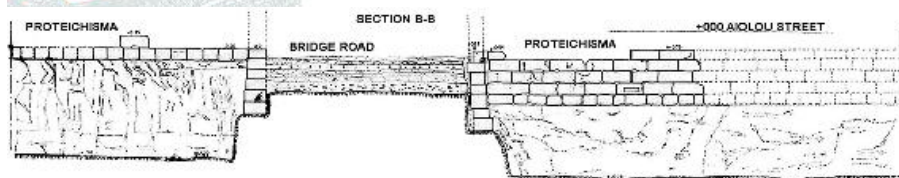
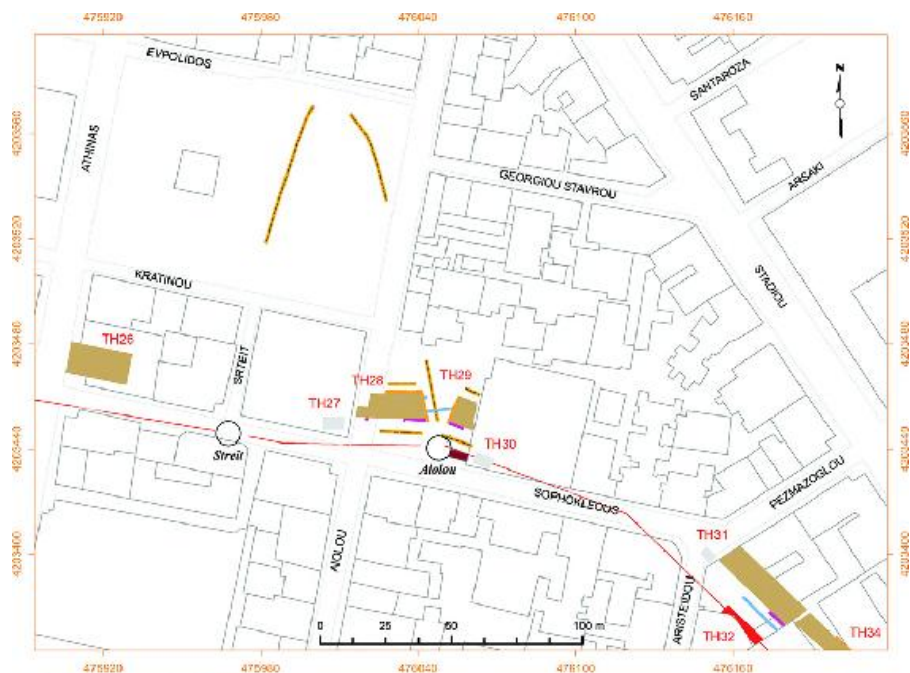


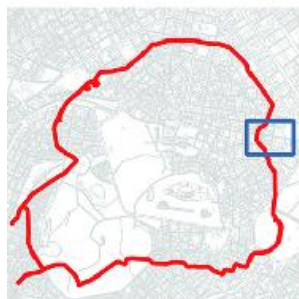


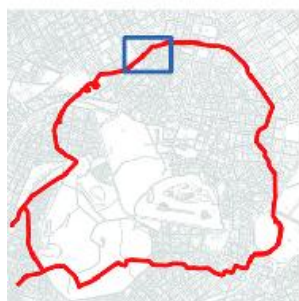
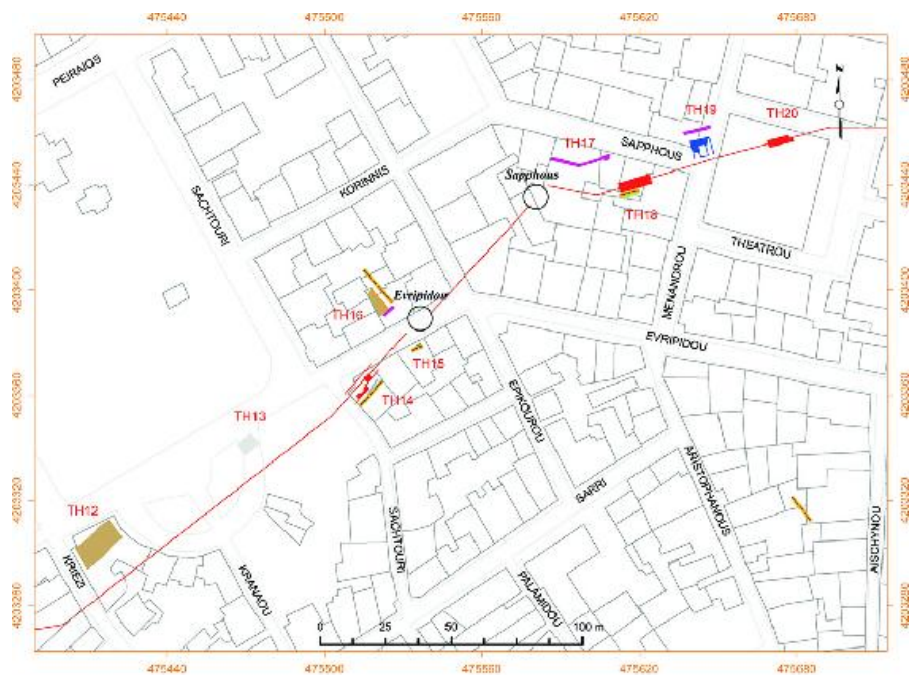


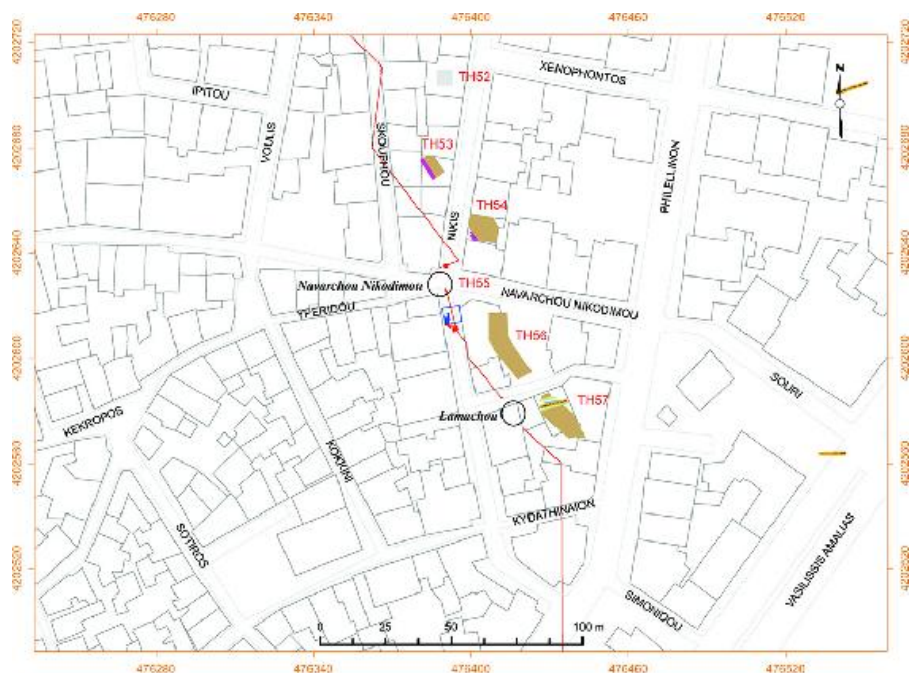


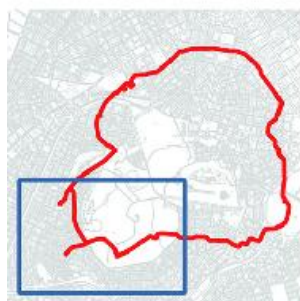
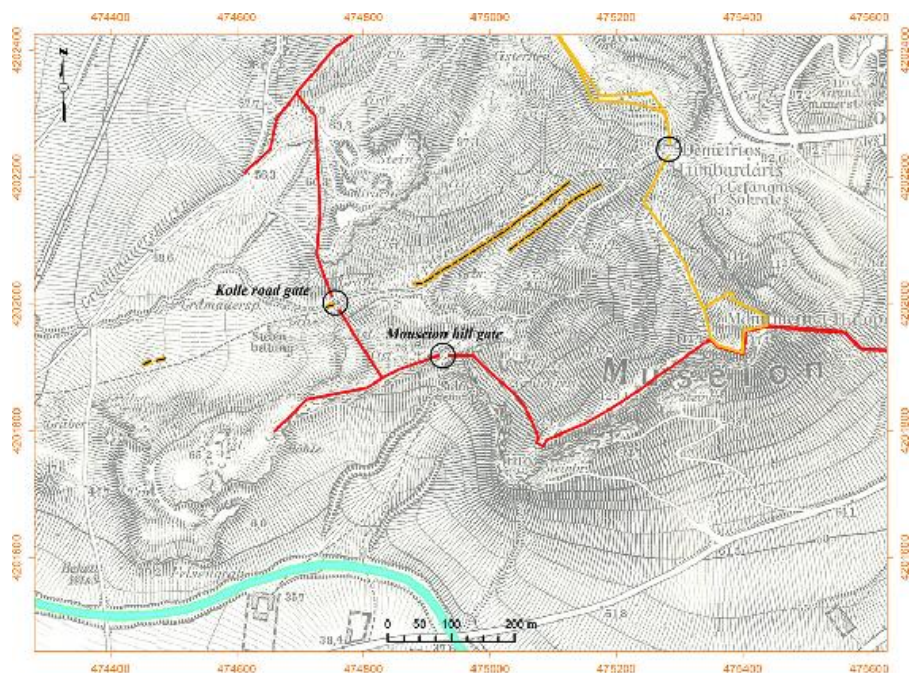


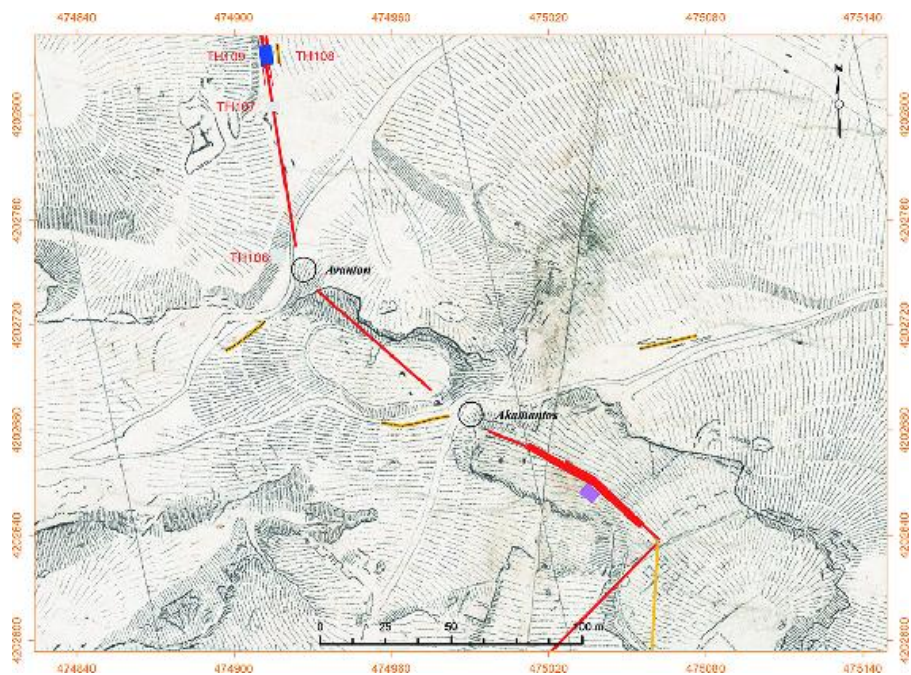












during rescue excavations of the Archaeological Service in various parts of the city over a long period of time. One consequence of these circumstances is the difficulty in perceiving the monument as a single entity in the topography of the city. In an effort to address this problem of fragmentation we have collected all the available excavation plans of the fortification and plotted them onto a map. The proposed reconstruction of the city wall attempts to fulfil one of the main purposes of this study: the illustration of the course of the ancient wall onto the modern fabric of the city, plotting the fortification sections one by one within the boundaries of each excavated building plot.

Following a presentation of how the map was designed (V.1), we will describe the course of the wall in relation to the modern streets and building plots where excavations uncovered its remains (V.2). In the quotation of the painter Hugh William Williams, noted at the beginning of the chapter, we see that walking along the ruins of the ancient circuit of Athens became a fixation for travellers of the early 19th century; in section V.2 we will attempt something similar for the modern visitor.

The cartographic tour of the ancient wall is useful for another reason: it forms an introduction to – but also the basis for – the discussion that follows regarding the position of the ancient gates in the city wall (V.3). Firstly, we will briefly look at the question of the naming of the gates, which has long preoccupied researchers and still provides impetus for new studies today (V.3.1). We will then search for the locations of the gates, relying on the archaeological investigations of the wall, but also with an eye to the remains of the road system of the ancient city as well as the locations of burials around Athens (V. 3.2). This overview covers a period up to the Late Roman, and includes an examination of the possible positions of gates in the eastern part of the Valerian wall (V.3.3).

1 The Map

The map of the ancient walls of Athens was prepared using Geographic Information System software, namely ArcGIS 10.4. It includes all discoveries of the wall published up to the time of going to press, depicted at a scale of 1:5000. Initially, all available excavation drawings were collected, converted to digital form (raster files) and registered with the Greek Geodetic Reference

System 1987 (GGRS1987). Features depicted in each drawing were then digitised as vectors and integrated with the vector geodata basemap for Athens created in 2004 by the National Technical University of Athens. At the end of the process, the individual elements of the fortification were defined (gate, wall, *proteichisma*, moat, retaining wall, road) and extracted as separate linear (polylines) and polygonal layers. The plans of the excavations were connected with code numbers which link with the respective remains of the fortification in the Catalogue of Sites (e.g., TH1, TH2, etc.). The Map is a collaboration with the Laboratory of Higher Geodesy of the National Technical University of Athens and can be found in the back cover of the book.

The wall traverses certain areas of the city with a course that has not yet been established by archaeological investigation. The reconstructed lines for these sections on the Map have been designed by extending known sections of the wall. When the remains are not of the wall itself but of the *proteichisma*, then the reconstructed line of the wall has been drawn in parallel with the internal face of the *proteichisma*, at a distance of around 9 meters (the distance between the wall and *proteichisma* ranges between 8 and 10 m.). The hypothetical line of the wall has been generally calculated with analogous reasoning for the surviving trenches of the moat.

Recent excavations of the western arm of the Themistoklean wall, which passes through the neighbourhood of Ano Petralona and crosses the western slopes of the hills of the Nymphs (the Observatory), Pnyx and the Muses (Philopappos), have been negligible, and the surviving elements do not allow the course of the wall to be securely fixed. Since there are no new sections to alter previous assessments, we have chosen to adopt the course proposed by Travlos (*Bildlexikon*) for this part (Fig. 93, red line west of the *diateichisma*).¹

Fig. 93: Reconstruction of the ancient walls of Athens based on excavation results.

For the eastern Valerian wall, where excavations have also been scarce (Fig. 93, dark green line, east), the line of the wall has taken into account the available digital drawings from more recent excavations, especially in the northern part, which were adapted onto Travlos' reconstruction of the wall (*Bildlexikon*). On the south

side of the ancient city, and outside the walls, the map of Curtius – Kaupert (*Atlas von Athen*, Sheet I) has been georeferenced and used to plot the course of the Ilissos. The Map illustrates the relationship of the known fortification elements in each area; following the colour-coded lines of the wall, one can trace the main steps in the evolution of the fortifications within the history of Athens.

2 The course of the walls

The synthesis and recording of the fortification remains has indicated that the principal lines of the wall in Antiquity were the Themistoklean course (TH),² the *diateichisma* (DT), the eastern part of the Valerian wall and part of its southern arm (V), and the Late Roman interior or Post-Herulian Wall (PH) (Fig. 93). In total, extant sections of the Themistoklean course have been uncovered at 129 sites, the eastern and southern Valerian line in 22, and the Post-Herulian Wall in 30 excavated positions.³

The course and length of the Themistoklean wall

Our starting point for the description of the Themistoklean course (TH) is the archaeological site of the Kerameikos in northwest Athens (Fig. 93, red line). Setting out on a northeasterly course, the wall heads towards Agion Asomaton and Dipylou streets; it crosses Koumoundourou square in the area where the open-air amphitheatre was built, and from there to Kranaou, Sachtouri and Sapphous streets, until it reaches Theatrou square. Following a path almost along Sophokleous street, the northernmost point of the circuit arrives at the intersection of Sophokleous and Aiolou streets. Then, the course follows a southeasterly direction passing through Klafthmonos square, almost parallel to and west of Stadiou street, to traverse Kolokotroni and Voulis streets. From this point, the wall forms a large arc placing the whole area of Syntagma square outside the walls. It then crosses Philellinon street and Amalias avenue, and encloses within its limits the temple of Olympian Zeus; the wall continues on a southwesterly route and climbs to intersect with Vourvachi street, on the former heights of the west bank of the Ilissos, and crosses Syngrou avenue and Phalirou, Dimitrakopoulou and Veikou streets. From Misaraliotou street, the course of the wall reaches Tsami Karatasou

street, in Koukaki, and continues almost in parallel along it. Having crossed Parthenonos, Erechtheiou and Propylaion streets, the wall climbs the hill of the Muses and then follows its downward southwestern slope into the area of Ano Petralona and Apolloniou square. We must next imagine it stood along the hill of the Nymphs, having left the ancient *barathron* to its west, to descend the northern slopes of the same hill. It travels then through Avanton, Nileos and Irakleidon streets, follows the general course of Erysichthonos street with a slight bend westward, until it reaches the western side of the hill crowned by the chapel of Agios Athanasios Kourkouris. It terminates at the Kerameikos archaeological site, having carved a long circular track onto the terrain of the city. The total length of the circuit is estimated to be around 6,400 m.⁴

Scholars have often been occupied with Thucydides' assessment of the length of the guarded wall at 43 stadia, and the corresponding measurement of the total length of the circumference of the Themistoklean wall. The historian describes the Athenians' preparations on the eve of the Peloponnesian War in 431 B.C., and gives the lengths of the Athenian fortifications, specifying what was guarded and what was not (Thuc. 2.13.7): τοῦ τε γὰρ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους στάδιοι ἦσαν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεως καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ φυλασσόμενον τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα (ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ καὶ ἀφύλακτον ἦν, τὸ μεταξύ τοῦ τε μακροῦ καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ), τὰ δὲ μακρὰ τεῖχη πρὸς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τεσσαράκοντα σταδίων, ὧν τὸ ἔξωθεν ἐτηρεῖτο, καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς ξὺν Μουνυχίᾳ ἐξήκοντα μὲν σταδίων ὁ ἅπας περίβολος, τὸ δ' ἐν φυλακῇ ὄν ἡμισυ τούτου.⁵ So how then does a wall of 6,400 meters correspond to Thucydides' 43 stadia, even if the unguarded part is added to its circumference?

A crucial question is what stade length Thucydides was using.⁶ Judeich claimed that the historian's calculations corresponded to a stade length equal to about 164 m., while Scranton and Travlos later reduced this to about 150 m.⁷ The latter calculation for a stade appears to agree with Conwell's assessment regarding the length of 40 stadia for each arm of the Long Walls: the length of the North arm measuring 6,180 m. (6,180: 40 stadia = a stade of 154.5 m.), and the South arm 5,980 m. (5,980: 40 stadia = a stade of 149.5 m.).⁸ Thus, if the length of a stade was 150 m., then 6,400 m. for the total length of the Themistoklean wall would equate to 42.6 stadia.

The unguarded section the wall lay between the Long and the Phaleric walls, as Thucydides writes, probably because there was no need to guard this part as the two walls joining the city with Piraeus and Phaleron would have offered adequate protection. But what exactly was left unguarded (ἀφύλακτον)? If the Phaleric wall joined the peribolos of the city at the southwestern edge of the hill of the Muses,⁹ and we consider that the unattended section was between the North Long Wall and the Phaleric wall, then we should add around 820 m. (5.5 stadia at 150 m. per stade) to the guarded length of Thucydides' 43 stadia, meaning that the total length of the peribolos would exceed 48 stadia ($48 \times 150 = 7,200$ m.). If the unguarded section was the relatively shorter southwestern part of the circuit that extended between the South Long Wall and the Phaleric wall (at the same place where it joined with the city peribolos), then we would need to add around 330 m. to the guarded section (ca. 2 stadia at 150 m. per stade), arriving at a total length of 45 stadia for the circuit of the city ($45 \times 150 = 6,750$ m.). If, alternatively, we suppose that the Phaleric wall met the peribolos further to the east and beyond the hill of the Muses, as Curtius – Kaupert, Travlos and Papachatzis had argued,¹⁰ then the length of the unguarded section would be even greater than 48 or 45 stadia, measuring from the Northern or the Southern Long arm respectively.

Aside from the arithmetic problem of these solutions, one could hypothesise that Thucydides' figure of 43 stadia for the circuit of the city echoed a general assessment at that time for the total length of these walls, which is not far from the result provided by modern means of surveying. Perhaps the unguarded section that he mentions was ultimately a relatively small part of the fortification, whose inclusion did not result in a significant increase in the calculation of 43 guarded stadia. The morphology of the steep, rocky terrain which stretched between the South Long Wall and the Phaleric wall was probably another factor that the state took into consideration when leaving this section of the circuit wall unguarded, a length of about 330 m., as we saw above. This reasoning presupposes that the Phaleric wall was connected to the city circuit at the southwest edge of the hill of the Muses.

The course of the *Diateichisma*

The so-called *diateichisma* was laid out on the southwest side of the city, along the ridge of the three Western Hills (of the Nymphs, Pnyx, and Muses) and was orientated NW-SE. At the top of the hill of the Muses, the *diateichisma* terminated at the Macedonian fort, whose west side joins with the *diateichisma* (Fig. 93, orange line). The southern side of the Macedonian fort seems to rest on the line of the Themistoklean wall.

The construction of the *diateichisma* has been dated by associated pottery to between 300 and the mid-280s B.C.¹¹ After the *diateichisma* was built, a length of about 850 m., the western arm of the original Themistoklean wall was reduced to about half its length (around 1,600 m. were removed), leaving a large portion of the city outside the walls. This reduction of the city on the west side of the circuit lasted until Late Antiquity and early Byzantine times.

The course of the Valerian wall: the eastern and southern parts of the city

The Valerian wall was erected about seven centuries after the Themistoklean, in a period in which the size of Late Roman Athens had dictated new exigencies and limitations. It was rebuilt onto parts of the northern and southern arms of the old Themistoklean line, and on the western hills it was embedded into parts of the *diateichisma* and the White Poros Wall. To the east of the city the wall was built on an entirely new course, in order to include a large part of the Roman city that had meanwhile expanded under Hadrian during the 2nd century A.D. The new wall protected a much greater area than its predecessor, and extended east to Irodou Attikou street, encompassing the whole area currently covered by Syntagma Square, the Greek Parliament, the National Gardens and the Zappeion (Fig. 93, dark green line, east). Apart from this important eastern Valerian addition, a deviation from the Themistoklean line has been documented also in parts of the southern arm of the fortification (Fig. 93, dark green line, south). These two Valerian extensions, east and south, form sections of the chronologically third line in the fortification development of the ancient city.

Parts of the eastern Valerian wall have been uncovered to the north of the National Gardens. The northern end of the wall met

the Themistoklean at the back of the Old Parliament building on Stadiou street, at a point that has not yet been discovered archaeologically. The course of the Valerian wall in this area has been known since the 1920s, and a description of it is included in the publication of the Royal Stables excavation by Kyparissis: 'it passes through the hotel [Grande Bretagne], enters the plot of the Royal Stables from Voukourestiou street, and exits about the middle of the Stadiou street side of the plot, continues its course through Stadiou street, under the statue of Kolokotronis,¹² to the point where it joins the Classical wall of the ancient city, roughly at the back of the Parliament'.¹³ The eastern extension of the Valerian wall describes a course of about 1,700 meters and ended at the eastern wall of the Olympieion peribolos.

The southern course of the Valerian wall deviated slightly from the original Themistoklean line, and the divergences between the fortification lines have been revealed in two sections. Starting from the east, one is located on Athanasiou Diakou street, southwest of the Olympieion; the other follows a course between Misaraliotou and Parthenonos streets, through plots on Veikou street and south of Tsami Karatasou street. The distance between the two circuits, the Themistoklean and Valerian, in this region (between TH88 and V20) is estimated at 35 m. The displacement of the Valerian line south of the Themistoklean was possibly imposed on the southern arm by the need to protect the important buildings of Roman Athens that had been built outside the Themistoklean wall. This explanation is prompted by the remains of a large Roman building preserved in the basement of a block of flats on Tsami Karatasou street (TH89). West of Parthenonos street and up to Erechtheiou street, traces of the Valerian wall were found on the Themistoklean line, and from that point we encounter their continuation at the *diateichisma* on top of the Western Hills. The total length of the Valerian wall reached almost 6,400 m., about the same as the Themistoklean wall.

The course of the Post-Herulian Wall

The fourth and final fortification course was laid out around fifteen years after the devastating consequences of the Herulian invasion in A.D. 267 (Fig. 93, light green line). The wall protected a much-reduced city to the north slope of the Acropolis and a smaller area

on the south side of the rock (Fig. 94).

Fig. 94: Reconstruction of the Post-Herulian Wall, based on excavation results (plan of Manolis Korres). Korres (1990) 18.

The Post-Herulian wall led from the Acropolis and the north retaining wall of the Mnisiklean Propylaia to the Klepsydra fountain, which it enclosed, and then travelled to the north along the Panathenaic Way. Crossing the archaeological site of the Agora, it formed a large arc bending to the west that incorporated sections of ancient monuments, such as the Eleusinion, the Library of Pantainos, and the Stoa of Attalos. From the northern end of the Stoa the wall changed direction, turning sharply southeast to the Library of Hadrian, incorporating all of its west, north and east walls. The wall continued in a straight line back to the southeast, passing through a series of building plots on the south side of Adrianou street, while the north wall of the large Roman building, the so-called Pantheon, was also incorporated into the wall and now functioned as a defensive line. The wall turns abruptly at an oblique angle to the southwest of Adrianou street, to then cross the archaeological site of the so-called Gymnasium of Diogenes. When it reached Kyrristou street, it again turns and, with an as yet archaeologically undetermined course, travelled to the rock of the Acropolis. The southern course of the wall began at the Beulé Gate and led to the Odeion of Herodes Atticus from the western arm of the Serpente bastion. It then followed the south wall of the Odeion, the north wall of the Stoa of Eumenes, and the western retaining wall of the *koilon* of the Theatre of Dionysos, leaving the Theatre outside the fortification.

Having described the course of the walls, we will now focus on identifying the gates of the Themistoklean wall (V.3.2). Our approach is based on information obtained from the remains of the fortifications themselves or from other related archaeological indications, such as the road system and the positions of graves. Firstly, however, we will take a brief look (V.3.1) at a question which fascinated the earliest travellers and scholars of ancient Athens: the identity of the Themistoklean gates and their ancient names.

3 The gates of the walls

3.1 Naming the gates of the Themistoklean wall

The study of ancient sources mentioning the names of ancient Athenian gates occupied several philologists and scholars of the 17th century, including Jan de Meurs (Meursius), Francis Rous and John Potter (see p. 63). Meurs would exclaim in 1617: 'Habes ecce portas decem'¹⁴ in his book *Atticarum Lectionum*, citing their names: 'Acharnian, Diochares, Diomeian, Eriai, Thraciai, Thriasiai or Dipylon, Hippades, Kerameikos gate, Melitides and Piraić'. Meurs increased this number of gates from 10 to 13, adding to his original classification the names 'Itonian, Aigeos, Sacred gate and Skaiai', having equated the names 'Kerameikos' or 'Thriasiai' with the Dipylon.¹⁵ While the Arch of Hadrian had been identified by Babin in the 1670s as an honorific arch,¹⁶ in the late 17th century, Potter had included it in his list of gates and their names, and it would take Stuart to re-establish it as a free-standing monument (see p. 82).¹⁷ A further case of the decoupling of an ancient gate name concerned the 'Skaiai gates'. It remains unclear how this name was attributed to a gate of Athens, as it is mentioned in the *Iliad* (3.145) as a gate of the walls of Troy. It was rejected, however, by Guillet, who did not include in his study either of the names 'Skaiai' or 'Thraciai'.¹⁸ Stuart would later agree with Guillet about the name 'Thraciai', considering it an incorrect reading by Meurs for Thriasiai.¹⁹ Thereafter, these names do not return to the discussion of the gates. We can observe, therefore, that researchers had dismissed and swept away from the discussion the erroneous names of the city's gates very early indeed. The answer to the second part of the question, the identification of the names with specific sites, was to take far longer.

The question of naming the gates was put onto a new footing thanks to the efforts of scholar travellers to Athens in the early 19th century. Dodwell and Leake in particular put forward the essential arguments in favour of one or another identity and simultaneously set some of the principal parameters for the investigation of the gates, such as understanding the morphology of the ground, the correlation of the ancient gates to those in the later Haseki wall, and the relevance of the courses of ancient and modern roads (see p. 90). Kyriakos Pittakis and Ludwig Ross took up these questions, both connecting the findspots of inscriptions with locations of the ancient gates, while in parallel looking for their names. The two researchers even revived the debate of the name of the Aigeos gate, when most previous scholars had expressed serious doubts about whether the name really did refer

to a gate of the walls and not to an entrance of the mythical palace of Aigeos.

At the end of the 19th century, Milchhöfer provided a significant service to the subject by collecting all the written sources relating to the topography of Athens, including the names of the gates. His collection was included in E. Curtius' *Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen* (1891). Milchhöfer included in his list the decree IG I³ 84 dating to 418/7 B.C., published by Koumanoudes in 1884,²⁰ which mentions two gates of the ancient wall. The inscription regulates the terms of a lease of the sacred temenos of Kodros, Neleus and Basile, including the planting of 200 olive trees and the channelling of water towards two gates of the wall near the boundaries of the precinct.²¹ One gate is referred to as ἄλαδε (IG I³ 84, ll. 35–36: καὶ τὸν πυλὸν ἐ(ι)ἄλαδε ἐ[χ]σελαύνοσιν οἱ μύσται); the other gate led to the baths of Isthmonikos (IG I³ 84, ll. 36–37: καὶ τὸν πυλὸν αἱ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἴσθμονίκο βαλανεῖον ἐκφέρουσι).

Milchhöfer also included ancient sources that mention the existence of three postern gates. We learn from a passage of Polyaeus' *Stratagems* that Lachares had escaped to Thebes in 294 B.C. by passing through a small gate of the wall: διὰ πυλίδος μικρᾶς ὑπεξελθὼν (3.7.1).²² Isaeus mentions a small gate in the Kerameikos where one could buy wine (6.20: παρὰ τὴν πυλίδα, οὗ ὁ οἶνος ὦνιος).²³ Another postern gate is mentioned by Plato as a place near the fountain of Panopos where Socrates met with friends while heading from the Academy to the Lyceum: ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγενόμην κατὰ τὴν πυλίδα ἧ ἡ Πάνοπος κρήνη (*Lysis* 203a).²⁴ And a further small gate is possibly referred to in Plato's *Phaedrus* (227a), in the introductory scene.²⁵

The question of the gate names has since occupied many researchers, most notably Judeich, who combined the ancient sources with the results of archaeological investigations undertaken until his day; in 1931, he proposed a comprehensive review of the corresponding names and gates. Travlos systematized subsequent research into his work the *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens* (1971), proposing 15 gates for ancient Athens (I–XV), including the two gates of the *diateichisma*.²⁶

One issue in these studies is whether a gateway could have more than one name. Judeich put forward the idea that in the late 5th century B.C., the gate names might not yet have been fixed.²⁷ Referring to the gates called 'Diomeian' and 'Itonian', he suggested that their positions should be equated with the two

gates mentioned in *IG I³ 84*, i.e., that the gate of the baths of Isthmonikos was perhaps the same as that later called 'Itonian', and that the name ἄλαδε was identified with the position of the gate which would bear the name 'Diomeian'. Therefore, even if specific names were assigned to the gates, the possibility could not be excluded that these names changed over time. A typical case can be seen in the testimony of Plutarch that the Dipylon was formerly called the 'Thriasiai gates' (*Pericles* 30.3).

In some cases, it is also uncertain whether the known ancient names should be identified with only one gate of the walls. The designation ἄλαδε (adverb of ἄλς, meaning *to* or *into the sea*) (*IG I³ 84*, ll. 35–36), for example, may be linked with the procession of the Eleusinian Mysteries from Eleusis to the sea, which obviously passed through the homonymous gate. This does not mean, however, that there were no other gates in the direction of the sea, across the paths of roads crossing the southern arm of the fortification. For this reason, the name should not necessarily be assigned to a single gate.

If we remove from the list of gates the two topical designations mentioned in *IG I³ 84*, taking seriously the possibility that two or more names or other designations exist for the same gate, then ten names have come down to us from the written sources that researchers generally accept as the names of the gates in the Athenian wall: the Sacred gate, the Dipylon, Hippades, Acharnian, Diochares, Itonian, Diomeian, Demian, Melitides and Piraic. The name Eriai is not included in the list because it is derived from a philological emendation and does not exist in the ancient sources; the theory that this name relates to a single gate has also been definitively disproven.²⁸ The survey of the ancient sources by A. P. Matthaiou has demonstrated that this specific name is an identification that can pertain to any gate of the city outside of which cemeteries developed (ἡρία = graves). For these 10 ancient names, one can search for the locations of at least an equal number of gates.

The Dipylon's position as the central gate of ancient Athens is generally accepted. Research to fix the positions of the remaining nine ancient names is set primarily by the association of names with specific ancient roads or demes, such as the names 'Sacred gate, Acharnian, Diomeian, Melitides and Piraic', or with specific ancient sites. In the second category, we have the example of ancient sources that may connect the moving and disposal of

executed bodies at the ancient *barathron* with the gates bearing the name 'Demian' (adjective of δῆμιος, the public executioner). Another topographic correlation of a gate is associated with the baths of Diochares, based on a passage of Strabo (9.1.19), which were located near the Lyceum gymnasium; the position of the homonymous gate should therefore be sought on the east side of the city. Similar correlations have been put forward for the gates called 'Itonian' and 'Hippades', as we will encounter below when examining the proposals for their locations; they are perhaps connected with related temples or cults.

The identification of the known names with the gates of the Themistoklean course remains a largely unresolved research topic. The present book does not attempt an exhaustive discussion, and for the most part will be limited to reporting the prevailing naming proposals.

3.2 The positions of the gates of the Themistoklean wall

Beyond the question of the names, we will attempt in what follows to reconstruct a general view of the positions and number of the gates based on archaeological information. The study connects three basic elements of the topography of the ancient city: the road network, the walls, and the position of the cemeteries. A main road would arrive at a gate of the wall and cross it to continue to the interior of the city, while roadside funerary monuments developed outside the gates and on both sides of the passing roads. The locations of the gates, both proven and hypothetical, are marked on the map of the wall (see Map).

We rank the gates into four categories based on archaeological criteria. In the first belong those with documented remains of a gate (V.3.2.1). The second category includes the gates which do not have any preserved remains, but whose position can be identified precisely by archaeological research due to the discovery of fortification components that formed the access to the gate, such as parts of the *proteichisma* and the moat (V.3.2.2). The third category includes the cases of hypothetical gates, whose position is indicated by an interruption of the trench of the moat, or by the presence of transverse retaining walls of the moat (V.3.2.3).

A fourth category contains putative gates, whose existence is indicated by the known direction of excavated sections of ancient roads or of natural topographic passages orientated towards the wall (V.3.2.4). Whether located inside or outside the circuit of the wall, these sections may belong to the roadway that would cross the hypothetical gate at the point where it met the wall. It should be noted, however, that one of the principal objections to this fourth category of gates is the uncertain end point of these roads in relation to the wall, and we cannot conclude with certainty that the course of an ancient road did not reach the point of the wall only to stop there abruptly without continuing.²⁹ The strength of using the remains of the road network as criteria for identifying the proposed position of the gates is evaluated on a case by case basis, and is occasionally enhanced by additional archaeological data or other information associated with the wall and the area where the roads crossed it, such as the morphology of the ground, the proximity of towers with the gate (gate towers?), the distances between the gates, or the presence of cemeteries, the circularity of the course of the wall, or information about housing in the area.

The gates along the Themistoklean course will now be allocated to the four categories proposed above, judged on the basis of the archaeological data related to each gate, and in a clock-wise direction in each category, beginning at the Kerameikos.

1 Remains of gates / posterns

Sacred Gate

The name 'Sacred gate' is given by Plutarch in his narrative of the invasion of Athens by the Roman general Sulla in 87/6 B.C.: τὸ μεταξύ τῆς Πειραικῆς πύλης καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς κατασκάψας καὶ συνομαλύνας (*Sulla* 14.3).³⁰ The Sacred gate derives its name from the homonymous road that passes through it towards the sanctuary of Demeter at Eleusis. The name of the road is documented at the Kerameikos by a boundary stone found on a bank of the Eridanos which carries the inscription IG I³ 1096: ἡόρος | τῆς ὁδοῦ | τῆς Ἐλευσινιάδε.³¹ The use of the name 'Sacred Way' by the Athenians is noted also by Pausanias (1.36.3): ἤν Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ὁδὸν ἱεράν.

The original design of the Sacred gate provided for the

construction of a double entrance, which incorporated the crossing both of the river Eridanos and the Sacred Way (Fig. 95).³² The enclosed courtyard area was protected by two outer towers, from which spur walls, one of them today preserved to some height (Fig. 96), led cityward to an inner cross wall that included the actual gateway. The overall picture of the Sacred gate, as with the Dipylon considered below, is clear to the visitor of the Kerameikos archaeological site because of its well-preserved remains (TH1).

Fig. 95: Reconstruction of part of the NW arm of the Themistoklean walls.

Fig. 96: The inner face of the west wall of the courtyard at the Sacred Gate (TH1). Below, the Sacred Way. (ph. by author).

Postern gate to the west of the Sacred Gate

An opening in the curtain wall that extends to the west of the Sacred gate, directly next to its western tower, measures around 1.70 m in width. The construction of the postern has been linked with renovations of the Sacred Gate in the early 3rd century B.C.³³ The passage would aid traffic congestion at this busy entry point to the city. Those coming into the city through the postern could move straight to the centre, but would also be able to get to the interior ring road of the wall to their right and to climb the stone steps, still preserved, orientated to the southwest. Judeich suggested that the small gate mentioned by Isaeus where one could buy wine (6.20) is the one located just west of the Sacred gate.³⁴

The Dipylon gate

The Dipylon was the central gate of Athens (Fig. 95, TH1), where a large road network met, connecting the city with Piraeus and the Academy. The name of the gate is mentioned for the first time in the inscription *IG II² 673b*, l. 4 ([το]ῦ διπύλου), dating to 278/7 B.C., and is used by ancient writers such as Polybius (16.25.6), Cicero (*de Finibus Bonorum et Malorum* 5.1), Livy (31.24.9), Plutarch (*Pericles* 30.3, *Sulla* 14.3), and Lucian (*Skytha* 2, *Dialogues of the Courtesans* 4.3, *The Ship, or the Wishes* 17, 24, 46).

According to Plutarch, the Dipylon was identical with the gates called 'Thriasiai': ταφῆναι δ' Ἀνθεμόκριτον παρὰ τὰς Θριασίας πύλας, αἱ νῦν Δίπυλον ὀνομάζονται (*Pericles* 30.3).³⁵ The Dipylon was equated by Hesychius with the Kerameikos gate (Κεραμεικὰς πύλας). This name is also given to them by Aristophanes in *Frogs* (Il. 1093–1095: κᾶθ' οἱ Κεραμῆς ἐν ταῖσι πύλαις παῖουσ' αὐτοῦ γαστέρα),³⁶ and perhaps in the *Knights* (l. 1247: ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαισιν, οὗ τὸ τάριχος ὦνιον)³⁷; the existence of gates at the Kerameikos is noted also by Pausanias (1.2.4): στοαὶ δὲ εἰσὶν ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐς τὸν Κεραμεικόν.

The remains of the Dipylon are visible in the Kerameikos archaeological site about 60 m. east of the Sacred gate. The courtyard of the Dipylon covers around 1,800 square meters and was a model for courtyard gates in later periods.³⁸ It was protected by four towers, of which the outer western projected further forward than the respective eastern tower.³⁹ The courtyard was closed by two doors at the side leading into the city, one next to the other, which probably gave the gate its name ('Double Gate').⁴⁰ The courtyard area of the Dipylon was crowned by battlements and in wartime could entrap an enemy. The road outside the gate formed a public space, where in times of peace official events of the city took place. In the area in front of the Dipylon and the Pompeion, but perhaps also within the Dipylon courtyard, the masses gathered in preparation for the Panathenaic festival, before the sacred procession in honour of Athena set off to ascend the rock of the Acropolis.

The gate at Leokoriou street

The corner of a tower of the Themistoklean course was revealed at the junction of Dipylou and Leokoriou streets, about 180 m. east of the Dipylon (Fig. 95, TH5).⁴¹ One reason supporting the view that this was a gate tower is the fact that the road that came from Hippios Kolonos⁴² would have made contact with this corner of the tower, following a southern route into the Agora.⁴³ This ancient road is identified with modern Leokoriou street. Additional evidence in favour of a gate position at this point is provided by the interruption of the moat at the corner of Leokoriou and Dipylou streets; this has been interpreted as a necessary strip of earth crossing to the wall, forming a passage through the gate.⁴⁴ In the plot at 42 Leokoriou street (TH6), remains came to light that

are potentially associated with the ancient gate.⁴⁵

The gate on Leokoriou was given the name 'Eriai gates'⁴⁶ because of the extensive cemetery that had developed to this side of the city (ήρία = graves).⁴⁷ Cemeteries, however, have been revealed by rescue excavations in many different parts of the city outside the city gates, with family tombs arranged along the main roads.⁴⁸ Accordingly, Pausanias writes that the Athenians had shrines of their gods and heroes and the tombs of men outside of the city, in the demes and along the roads (1.29.2: ἔξω πόλεως ἐν τοῖς δήμοις καὶ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς θεῶν ἐστὶν ἱερὰ καὶ ἡρώων καὶ ἀνδρῶν τάφοι). Given that the word ήρία may refer to any ancient gate of the wall, the name is now not associated with this gateway, nor any other gate.⁴⁹

Another ancient name proposed for the gate on Leokoriou street is Ἰππάς, which is mentioned in the Hadrianic inscription *IG II² 2776* (ll. 141–142)⁵⁰: π[ρὸ]ς τῇ Ἰππάδι. The plural Hippades is mentioned by Plutarch (*Lives of the Orators* 849 C): θάψαι τε ἅμα τοῖς γονεῦσι πρὸ τῶν Ἰππάδων πυλῶν,⁵¹ Alciphron (3.15.4): ἄμεινον γὰρ πρὸ τῆς Διομητῆδος πύλης ἢ πρὸ τῶν Ἰππάδων ἐκτάδην κεῖσθαι, and by Hesychius (ἱππάδα· καὶ πύλαι Ἀθήνησιν Ἰππάδες ἐκαλοῦντο), but none of these written sources defines the gate's position.⁵²

We learn from Hesychius' entry on ἱππάς that: καὶ αἱ θυσίαι δὲ αἱ περὶ τῶν ἱππέων ἐπιτελούμεναι ἱππάδες ἐλέγοντο; therefore, the name Hippades might be associated with the cult of Hippios Poseidon, located on Hippios Kolonos in honour of the patron deity of the Athenian cavalry.⁵³ In this context Y. Garlan argued for the topographic link of Hippios Kolonos hill with the Hippades gates in the northwestern area of the city, and suggested a reconsideration of lines 121 (col. iv) and 128 (col. iv) of the building inscription *Agora XVI 109*. This inscription provides part of the lower right section of *IG II² 463*, which relates to the rebuilding of the city walls, the Long Walls and the Piraeus walls (see p. 36). For Garlan, these lines regulated the distribution of builders for the 'sixth part' of the city fortification; he supplemented line 121 with the word Ἀχαρνὰς and read in line 128 the word Ἰππάδων, thus defining the Acharnian gate as the end point of the sixth part of the wall and the Hippades as its western edge.⁵⁴ Continuing Garlan's connection of the Hippades gates with Hippios Kolonos, F. Alabe proposed decoupling the name Ἡρία from the gate on Leokoriou street and identifying that gate with the ancient

Hippades.⁵⁵ These elements together strengthened the proposed connection of the name Hippades with the northwestern gate of the wall on Leokoriou street.

Gate north of the Olympieion

The northwest part of a Themistoklean gate was discovered to the west of the propylon of the temple of Olympian Zeus (see Map, TH61).⁵⁶ The same excavation revealed traces of wheel ruts made by passing wagons, etched into the ancient road that led through the Arch of Hadrian and continued to a gate of the Themistoklean wall, forming a large curve. The discovery of the foundations of the gate itself was important because it gave a final answer to an old question (see pp. 133–136), demonstrating that there had been an intention to include the half-finished Peisistratid temple of Olympian Zeus within the Themistoklean circuit.⁵⁷ Some column drums of the temple were found walled into the gate (Fig. 36), a typical case of the use of older building materials during the erection of the Themistoklean wall, while other drums were dumped into the fortification moat. The gate is of the courtyard type,⁵⁸ and access to it was probably facilitated by a wooden bridge.⁵⁹

Travlos initially equated the gate with the name Aigeos because the mythical palace of Aigeos is associated with the area of the later Olympieion in a passage of Plutarch (*Theseus* 12.3): τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν πρὸς ἔω τοῦ ἱεροῦ καλοῦσιν ἐπ' Αἰγέως πύλαις.⁶⁰ Later, Travlos championed the name Hippades instead of the Aigeos gate.⁶¹ The Hippades, as mentioned above, occur in the inscription *IG* II² 2776, ll. 141–142: π[ρὸ]ς τῇ Ἰππάδι, appearing in topographical proximity to Ankyle (*IG* II² 2776, ll. 142–143: Ἀνκυλῆσι), a deme which has been placed near Hymettos⁶² or southeast of Ardettos hill.⁶³ Based on this correlation, the ancient road travelling from the gate north of the Olympieion precinct would lead, according to Travlos, to the eastern part of the city, possibly to the deme of Ankyle.⁶⁴ Judeich and Travlos hypothesized also that the Hippades gate took its name from the equestrian events which were held at the neighbouring Lyceum, located to the east of the ancient city and outside the walls, such as the Anthippasia which were performed along the road to the Lyceum, equestrian contests that are extensively described by Xenophon (*Hipparchikos* 3.6).⁶⁵ The name Hippades has also been proposed,

as we have seen, for the gate on Leokoriou street (see p. 242).

Gate or postern on Iosiph ton Rogon street

To the southwest of the temple of Olympian Zeus, part of the Themistoklean course was revealed within a narrow trench excavated in front of the plot at 8 Iosiph ton Rogon street (TH63). The surviving blocks of the outer face of the wall form an obtuse angle which indicate an oblique opening (Fig. 62), interpreted by the excavators as a gate or postern (Figs. 97–98).⁶⁶

Fig. 97: Reconstruction of part of the city walls south of the Olympieion.

Fig. 98: Reconstruction of part of the SE arm of the Themistoklean walls.

This is most likely a postern gate, because of the slanted openings of this type in the body of the wall.⁶⁷ The excavation also discovered the addition of the Valerian wall, which blocked the earlier gate, and demonstrated that at this point the courses of the two walls, the Themistoklean and Valerian, converged. The fixing of the position here of a gate or postern is supported by the presence of two sections of roads running north-south,⁶⁸ travelling almost parallel to the western wall of the Olympieion precinct in the direction of the excavation; the oblique opening of the gate or postern may have been directed towards the passing road (Fig. 97).⁶⁹

The gate or postern on Iosiph ton Rogon street was connected by Travlos with the name Ἰτώνιαι.⁷⁰ The placing of the Itonian gates in the Ilissos area is mainly based on the pseudo-Platonic dialogue *Axiochus* (365d): Ὡς δὲ θᾶπτον τὴν παρὰ τὸ τεῖχος ἦειμεν ταῖς Ἰτωνίας – πλησίον γὰρ ὤκει τῶν πυλῶν πρὸς τῇ Ἀμαζονίδι στήλῃ – καταλαμβάνομεν αὐτόν ..., ⁷¹ but is also taken from Plutarch (*Theseus* 27.4): καὶ τὴν στήλην τὴν παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ὀλυμπίας ἱερὸν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ κεῖσθαι,⁷² as well as Pausanias (1.2.1): ἐσελθόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐστὶν Ἀντιόπης μνημα Ἀμαζόνος.⁷³ Based on these sources, the Itonian gate is associated with the Kallirrhoe spring at the Ilissos, the Kynosarges, the Amazon stele, and the sanctuary of Olympian Ge.⁷⁴ The sanctuary of Athena Itonia has also been connected with the homonymous city gate⁷⁵; but although we have mentions of it in four inscriptions, there is no information on

its exact position.⁷⁶ The introduction of the cult of Athena Itonia has been linked to the mention by Herodotus of an alliance of Peisistratos with the Thessalians (5.63): the Thessalian cavalry had cooperated with his son Hippias in the successful expulsion of the Spartan Anchimolios and his army at Phaleron.⁷⁷ The position of the sanctuary might be related to the battlefield, which would have been between Phaleron and the southeast side of city, near the banks of the Ilissos and not far from the homonymous gate of the walls. The mythical descent of the Thessalian hero Aleuas from Herakles, through his father Thessalos, would indicate the proximity of the sanctuary of Athena Itonia with the sanctuary of Herakles at Kynosarges (Paus. 1.19.3), which remains unidentified.

Travlos' bestowal of the name Itonian to the gate or postern on Ioseph ton Rogon street gives us reason for a brief look at the topographic evidence in the decree *IG I³ 84* and its relevance for the names of the gates. Two gates of the wall are mentioned in this inscription, connected to the sacred temenos of Kodros, Neleus and Basile, the position of which is generally located in the area between Makrygianni street and Syngrou avenue.⁷⁸ These gates are placed in the southern fortification arm, due to the reference to the sanctuary of Dionysos south of the Acropolis (l. 35). It is also believed that because the references are to the same context, in relation to the sanctuary of Kodros, both gates should be placed close to one another,⁷⁹ and in successive positions.

Judeich suggested that the gate that defined the sanctuary of Kodros to the east was that leading to the baths of Isthmonikos (*IG I³ 84*, ll. 36–37): καὶ τῶν πυλῶν αἱ ἐπὶ τὸ Ἰσθμονικό βαλανεῖον ἐκφέρουσι,⁸⁰ and that the same gate bore the name Itonian; the gate was positioned by the same scholar on Vourvachi street (see p. 260). The Itonian gate would therefore be found near the Olympieion, as the associated topographical references in the written sources had dictated.⁸¹ Later, however, following the discovery of remains of a gate or postern on Iosiph ton Rogon, even closer to the Olympieion, Travlos transferred the name Itonian to this new site.⁸²

The gate which Judeich believed defined the sanctuary of Kodrus to the south, and was named ἄλαδε (*IG I³ 84*, ll. 35–36: καὶ τῶν πυλῶν ἔ(ι) ἄλαδε ἐ[χ]σελαύνοσιν οἱ μύσται),⁸³ has come to be identified with the gate on Phalerou street, discussed in the relevant section below (see p. 267).⁸⁴ In any case, we lack adequate archaeological or epigraphic evidence to securely match the gate

or postern on Iosiph ton Rogon with a specific ancient name.

Postern(?) gate on Parthenonos street

An opening less than one meter wide, probably a postern gate, was recorded in a section of the wall at 19–25 Parthenonos street (Fig. 99, TH93); it was found some 5 m. from a tower of the 4th century B.C. and around 32 m. from the gate on Erechtheiou street (TH97).⁸⁵ A curved retaining wall 33 m. in length led in the direction of this small gate, and was interpreted as the eastern part of the enclosure of an unknown sanctuary, while a paved lane with a width of around 1.50 m. ran immediately next to it. It is believed that an ancient road of the Archaic to Late Classical periods also led to this postern, a part of which was revealed on Erechtheiou street.⁸⁶

Gate on Erechtheiou street

A rescue excavation undertaken in the road before 25 Erechtheiou street (TH97) revealed the remains of a Themistoklean gate – the closest gate to the foot of the hill of the Muses (Fig. 99).⁸⁷ The western part of the gate was found in a plot at 25 Erechtheiou street (TH99).⁸⁸ Based on current research, the gate was of the courtyard type⁸⁹ and its construction was adapted to the pre-existing ancient road that ran approximately along the length of Erechtheiou street.⁹⁰ A dense network of water channels was uncovered around the gate, as well as burials of the Submycenaean, Protogeometric, Middle and Late Geometric periods, and a funerary peribolos of the 3rd quarter of the 4th century B.C., all of which indicated the long history of this route.⁹¹

This was the state of research after the excavations of the 1950s (TH97, TH98) and 1960s (TH94, TH99). The picture was then enhanced by the significant discovery in 1989–1990 at 18 Erechtheiou street (TH96) of a strong transverse retaining wall of the moat in contact with part of the *proteichisma*, forming a right angle (Fig. 82). It has been argued that the retaining wall would have supported a passing road.⁹² It is therefore very likely that this road operated until at least the 4th century B.C., when the above constructions were built.

The plan of the fortifications in the area of the gate remains problematic for the period after the 2nd century B.C., when a new

wall was built on a second course (TH98), about 8.60 m. south of the original Themistoklean line and of the gate itself (Fig. 99; see the red stretch of wall to the south of Erechtheiou gate).

Fig. 99: Reconstruction of part of the southern arm of the Themistoklean walls.

The difficulty lies in the fact that this southern wall was on a different orientation (NW-SE) than the course of the Themistoklean wall (SW- NE). Moreover, its construction appears to have eliminated the passage of the crossing road and also the actual gate.⁹³ It may be relevant to this case that the gate at 25 Erechtheiou does not preserve any building remains later than the 4th century B.C.

The southern arm of the fortification was particularly vulnerable due to the constant problem of ground water in the area, and at times there may have been operations to address damage. The excavation at 18 Erechtheiou street (TH96) also showed that the *proteichisma* was later rebuilt into a strong wall, perhaps a continuation of the course of the southern wall of the 2nd century B.C. (TH98) discussed above. In later Hellenistic times, this strong wall at 18 Erechtheiou street is likely to have replaced the corresponding part of the Themistoklean curtain wall, which was found in an adjacent plot to the north at 20 Erechtheiou street (TH94), as a new main line of defence, perhaps maintaining the passage of the ancient thoroughfare. The section of fortification that remains unexcavated between the 2nd century B.C. wall (TH98) and the building line of the plot on Erechtheiou (TH96) is thought to preserve a possible area for the same crossing road,⁹⁴ something that remains to be confirmed by excavation.

Gate on Irakleidon street

The foundations of a gate on Irakleidon street (Fig. 100) were uncovered in two adjacent plots in the area of Theseio, at 50 Irakleidon (TH117) and 15 Erysichthonos (TH118) (see pp. 136–140).⁹⁵ Despite the poor preservation of these remains, the excavations brought to light foundations of a gate that had enclosed a courtyard, and also its threshold block.⁹⁶ The position of the gate on Irakleidon would have facilitated commercial traffic through the area north of the hill of the Nymphs, connecting the

Agora with the Piraeus, particularly in the early 5th century B.C., following the establishment of the latter as the main harbour of Athens.⁹⁷

Fig. 100: Reconstruction of part of the NW arm of the Themistoklean walls.

This position should be held by the Piraic gates, through which a wagon road followed a path outside the North Long Wall, possibly the one mentioned by Xenophon in his *Hellenica* as the *hamaxitos* (2.4.10).⁹⁸ The same road, on both sides of which the fallen from the battle of the Amazons were buried, is called πλατεῖαν by Plutarch, associating it with the Piraic gates: τάφους τῶν πεσόντων περὶ τὴν πλατεῖαν εἶναι τὴν φέρουσαν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας παρὰ τὸ Χαλκῶδοντος ἥρῳον, ἃς νῦν Πειραϊκὰς ὀνομάζουσι (*Theseus* 27.3).⁹⁹ Elsewhere, Plutarch refers to the same gate but in the singular (*Sulla* 14.3): τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς Πειραϊκῆς πύλης καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς κατασκάψας καὶ συνομαλύνας.¹⁰⁰ The Piraic gates, together with the Sacred Gate and the Dipylon, constituted the principal entrances to the northwest part of the city.

2 Remains of approaches to gates

Gate on Aioulou street

The access to a gate of the wall was discovered at the junction of Aioulou and Sophokleous streets (TH29), although the foundations of the gate itself have not survived (Figs. 101–102) (see pp. 140–142).¹⁰¹

Fig. 101: Reconstruction of part of the northern arm of the Themistoklean walls.

Fig. 102: Cross-section with parts of the *proteichisma* and the intermediate crossing road/bridge which led to a gate. Excavation of 1974 at the junction of Aioulou and Sophokelous (TH29). Alexandri (1973–1974a) 118, fig.18. © Copyright Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Nevertheless, the remains of parts of the *proteichisma*, the outer retaining walls of the moat and of the transverse ancient road

which passed through the gate form a clear picture of an entrance into the city. Another rare discovery connected with this gate is the survival of wheel-rut traces on the surface of the ancient road.¹⁰²

The road leading to the plain north of Athens passed through the gate on Aioulou street, heading to the deme of Acharnai. Due to the northbound destination of this road, the gate is known as the 'Acharnian' gate, a name attested in a Hadrianic inscription, *IG II² 2776*, l. 71: πρὸς τῇ Ἀχαρνικῇ πύλῃ. Hesychius preserves the same name, although in the plural: Ἀχαρνικαὶ πύλαι Ἀθήνησιν. It is, however, disputed whether this archaeological site is in fact the Acharnian gate of the Themistoklean fortification or is from a later period.¹⁰³ The same name could equally refer to the hypothetical gate located on the axis of the pedestrianised Streit street (Fig. 101), which dates to an earlier period (see p. 264).

Gate on Apollonos street

Excavations in the plot at 15–17 Mitropoleos street (TH49) revealed parts of the Themistoklean wall, the *proteichisma*, the trenches of the moat and its retaining walls. The surviving remains clearly demonstrated the configuration of an access to a gate of the wall (Figs. 44, 103).¹⁰⁴

Fig. 103: Reconstruction of the bend in the eastern arm of the Themistoklean walls.

Building remains of the gate itself were not found during the excavation, nor are stretches of the crossing road mentioned in the archaeological report. From this point perhaps set out the arterial road to the Mesogaia, part of which was discovered during the Metro excavations on Amalias Avenue (see Map).¹⁰⁵ The gate should be located at the junction of Apollonos and Pendelis streets.

The connection of the archaeological site at 15–17 Mitropoleos street and the preserved remains of a gateway with the name Diochares¹⁰⁶ was based on epigraphic evidence for the Diochares gate and the alleged find spot of the inscription *IG II² 2495* (ll. 6–8): Ἀθηνᾶς τέλμα πρὸς ταῖς [πύλαις] ταῖς παρὰ τὸ Διοχάρο[υς...⁵..] βαλανέον,¹⁰⁷ which dates to the 330s B.C.¹⁰⁸ These lines are connected with the removal of earth fill from the fortification moat, which was under the protection of Athena Polias, and

furthermore, where applicable, the production of mud.¹⁰⁹ Despite the fact that the inscription says that part of the moat is topographically associated with the gate adjacent to the baths of Diochares, it is not possible to match it to the gate on Mitropoleos street because, as Walbank noted,¹¹⁰ the inscription was found by Pittakis west of the Parthenon and not next to the chapel of Agia Dynami on Mitropoleos street.¹¹¹

Another proposed linking of the gate on Apollonos street with the name Diochares is based on a passage of Strabo where he refers to the Eridanos river and its springs, which are located near the Lyceum gymnasium and outside of the Diochares gates (9.1.19) : εἰσὶ μὲν νῦν αἱ πηγαὶ καθαροῦ καὶ ποτίμου ὕδατος, ὥς φασιν, ἐκτὸς τῶν Διοχάρους καλουμένων πυλῶν πλησίον τοῦ Λυκείου.¹¹² The excavation at 15–17 Mitropoleos street revealed that the retaining walls of the moat engaged with a complex system of water channels.¹¹³ For this reason, the identification of the Diochares gate with these remains of the access to a gate in the same excavation allows several possibilities. However, it cannot be excluded that this name (Diochares gate) could also have been given to unidentified gates of the Themistoklean wall in the eastern side of the city, again in relation to the Eridanos and its bed, but also to the gymnasium of the Lyceum. We will focus on such a case at the end of this section (see pp. 276–278).

3 Interruptions of the moat

Gate(?) on Evripidou street

The position of a gate of the wall to the west of the junction of Evripidou and Epikourou streets (Fig. 104) was suggested by the discovery of a retaining wall at 90 Evripidou (TH16).¹¹⁴ The wall was found inside the moat and perpendicular to its course; it was interpreted by the excavators as the retaining wall of the ancient road that crossed through to a gate, forming a sort of ‘bridge’ between the trenches of the moat.¹¹⁵ The remains of the gate itself were not located by excavation in the plot. The exact course of the Themistoklean wall on this side of Athens should be clarified in future excavations around the amphitheatre on Koumoundourou square but also in other plots in the area,¹¹⁶ through which the wall traversed.¹¹⁷

Fig. 104: Reconstruction of part of the NW arm of the Themistoklean walls.

Gate(?) on Dragatsaniou street

The position of another gate of the wall has been suggested on Dragatsaniou street, north of Klafthmonos square (Fig. 105).¹¹⁸ Physical remains of the gate itself have not been discovered, but an interruption of the moat led Travlos to postulate its existence.¹¹⁹ A sketch preserved in the Travlos archive in the Archaeological Society shows the moat interrupted by retaining walls positioned on either side of a 20 m. wide road.¹²⁰

Fig. 105: Reconstruction of part of the NE arm of the Themistoklean walls.

Additional evidence for the existence of the gate is provided by the remains of steps on the inner side of the wall, revealed by Ioannis Threpsiades at 6 Dragatsaniou street (TH35).¹²¹ The stairway is connected with earlier archaeological discoveries in the same area made during the construction in 1872 of the house of Leon Melas: Rousopoulos and Efstratiades had identified them as the foundations of a fortified tower.¹²² E. Ziller, architect of the Melas house, proposed instead that this discovery should be interpreted as a postern gate of the wall.¹²³ These indications were eventually destroyed, and some of the ancient blocks were used as building material in the foundations of the house. We can deduce from this information that the surviving stairway perhaps led to a defensive tower that strengthened a gate, the existence of which is indirectly evidenced by the interruption of the moat.

The likelihood of the gate at this site is further reinforced by the discovery of part of an ancient road oriented SW-NE on Evripidou street in front of the church of Agioi Theodoroi,¹²⁴ whose course was reconstructed by Travlos to pass through the gate on Dragatsaniou street, leading towards the northeast side of the city.¹²⁵ We must also add to the ancient roads of this area an unpublished section of road running SW-NE with a notable width of 5.50 m., excavated at 5–7 Palaion Patron Germanou (Fig. 105, lower left), whose remains are visible from the street. However, although it was found a few meters away from the wall, its exact destination remains unsure as it could lead to the gate on

Dragatsaniou street, after a sharp turn to the north, or else to another unknown gate of the wall if it maintained the same course leading towards Paparrigopoulou or Christou Lada streets (see pp. 276–278).

Gate(?) on Lamachou street

There is a greater possibility of a gate existing on the southeast side of the city south of Lamachou street. Excavations at 3 Lamachou street (TH57) revealed an ancient road perpendicular to the wall that formed a 'bridge' between two trenches of the moat, whose sides were strengthened by retaining walls.¹²⁶ The building remains of the supposed gate at the spot where the ancient road would intersect with the wall have not been revealed; they were likely destroyed during the construction of an aqueduct in the 3rd century A.D. that was excavated in the corner plot at 7 Lamachou street.¹²⁷ Travlos noted that in this plot the bedrock reached the surface of the road, a fact that further limits the likelihood of finding remains of the gate.¹²⁸ By extrapolating the line of the wall from the adjacent excavations, researchers proposed a location for the gate in the area between 3 Lamachou and Nikis streets (Fig. 106). The ancient road which led from the demes of the Mesogaia to the eastern slope of the Acropolis may have passed through the gate on Lamachou street.¹²⁹

Fig. 106: Reconstruction of part of the eastern arm of the Themistoklean walls.

Gate(?) on Vourvachi street

The existence of a gate at the junction of Iosif ton Rogon and Vourvachi streets (Fig. 98) has been proposed on the basis of finds at 5–7–9 Vourvachi (TH67). The retaining wall of the moat, revealed in the southern part of the excavation, was constructed perpendicular to the *proteichisma* and may indicate the termination of the moat in order to support a crossing road. The configuration of the gate showed similarities, according to the excavators, with the Kerameikos fortifications.¹³⁰ The continuation of the *proteichisma* beyond the boundaries of the excavation site has not yet been investigated,¹³¹ and a complete picture of

whether the gate was designed in a similar fashion to other gates is still illusive.¹³²

The putative gate on Vourvachi street is located close to the Ilissos river bed, only a few meters south of the spot marked on the maps of Curtius and Kaupert (1881) and Judeich (1931²) – both had placed it around the middle of Vourvachi street.¹³³ The proposal of this position was later investigated by Miliadis in the mid-1950s, but without the desired results. Ultimately, excavations conducted beneath Vourvachi street (TH69, TH70, TH71, TH72) have indicated that the Themistoklean wall maintained an uninterrupted course here without the intervention of a fortified gate; such a situation might be expected, taking into account the sharp downward slope formed by the ancient river bed of the Ilissos.¹³⁴

Recent studies of the ancient road network have linked the gate on Vourvachi street with the main thoroughfare that crossed the southern part of the city along the current Chatzichristou street, which began from the area southwest of the Acropolis and led in a NW-SE direction.¹³⁵ It cannot be excluded that the city was connected with the southern demes of Attica by the gate on Vourvachi, which would be the beginning of the ancient so-called *astiki odos* (road to the city) leading to the mining area of Lavreotiki and the sanctuary at Sounion.¹³⁶

The gate on Vourvachi street lies in an area which in antiquity bordered the deme of Diomeia. At the beginning of the 3rd century A.D., a gate of the wall that led to the deme of Diomeia was reported by Alciphron as the Diomiis gate: ἀμεινον γὰρ πρὸ τῆς Διομηΐδος πύλης ἢ πρὸ τῶν Ἰππάδων ἐκτάδην κεῖσθαι (3.15.4).¹³⁷ The same author mentions a banker of his time who was located at the Diomiis gate (Alc. 1.13.3: πρὸς τῇ Διομηΐδι πύλῃ). In ancient sources the word “Diomeiai” is not mentioned as a gate name, yet scholars often use it to name the gate that led to the homonymous deme.

The deme of Diomeia was on the southeast side of the city, just outside the walls.¹³⁸ We know that the Kynosarges gymnasium was also not far from the gates of the wall, as Diogenes Laertius tells us: διελέγετο δ’ ἐν τῷ Κυνοσάργει γυμνασίῳ μικρὸν ἀποθεν τῶν πυλῶν (6.13),¹³⁹ but also Plutarch (*Themistokles* 1.2): τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶν ἔξω πυλῶν γυμνάσιον Ἡρακλέους.¹⁴⁰ Additionally, the central road leading to the deme of Diomeia from a gate of the city would have crossed the dense Kynosarges cemetery, which

developed on the left bank of the Ilissos.¹⁴¹ We noted above that graves adjacent to the Diomiis gate were mentioned by Alciphron (3.15.4). The Kynosarges cemetery has been located archaeologically to the east of Kallirrois street, in the area of the Agios Panteleimon church, and it extends from Theophilopoulou to the edge of Diamantopoulou street, and perhaps to Anapavseos street.¹⁴² The central southern thoroughfare of the city, noted above, could have headed to the gate on Vourvachi street and straight to the Kynosarges cemetery, and perhaps this gate was called Διομήζ.¹⁴³

4 Roads crossing probable gates

Gate(?) on Sapphous street

Evidence for the existence of a gate on Sapphous street comes mainly from the study of the ancient Athenian road network but also from the locations of ancient graves in the area (Fig. 104). Excavations carried out in plots at 16 Sapphous and 31 Aischylou revealed two sections of ancient roads, one outside and the other inside the walls, respectively; it has been proposed that these remains constitute parts of the same road.¹⁴⁴ If this is indeed the case, then the road would cross the building block defined by Sapphous, Korinnis, Epikourou, Evripidou and Menandrou streets, an area through which the Themistoklean wall passes, and would lead to the ancient graves discovered just outside the hypothetical gate in plots excavated on Sapphous street.¹⁴⁵

The obtuse angle of part of the *proteichisma* discovered at Sapphous 7–9 (TH17) may provide additional indirect evidence for the configuration of an access to a gate. The *proteichisma* forms a sharp bend outwards, and the corresponding parallel part of the wall would also have the same course, deviating from the normal circular formation of the fortification circuit around the city.

Curtius and Kaupert first proposed that there should be a postern gate in this area, recording it on their map at the junction of Sapphous and Menandrou streets.¹⁴⁶ Archaeological research later discovered that the northwest arm of the fortification was reinforced with a tower (TH19), found at the junction of these roads (a gate tower?).¹⁴⁷ Other related remains have not been identified in the same area; however, the available archaeological

data point towards a possible gate at the place indicated by Curtius and Kaupert in their maps.¹⁴⁸

Gate(?) on Streit street

There are strong indications of a gateway in the northern arm of the fortification in the area of Streit street, about 75 m. west of the gate on Aioulou (Fig. 101).¹⁴⁹ These indications came to light during excavations in Kotzia (or Ethnikis Antistaseos) square, where parts of two roads were revealed a short distance outside of the walls and between a mass of graves, which date from the Protogeometric to the Late Roman period.¹⁵⁰ One of these roads, the eastern, led to the wall and the gate at the junction of Aioulou and Sophokleous streets (TH29), which has already been mentioned (see p. 252). The western road also led to the wall, in a north-south direction, and perhaps passed through an unknown gate located near the junction of Streit street and Sophokleous.¹⁵¹ This second road might have crossed the plot at 6 Vlachava street, inside the city, where part of an ancient road was discovered.¹⁵²

The ancient road projecting to the south (the western road) coincides with Streit street, and is thought to be earlier than the eastern road that crossed the gate on Aioulou street.¹⁵³ The western road was far wider (4.50–4.80 m., compared to 3.20–3.40 m. for the eastern), and was in use for a longer period of time, until Late Roman times, possibly following the removal of the gate on Aioulou.¹⁵⁴ In any case, the presence of two gates will have helped to alleviate congestion in the area of the ancient roadside cemetery, which exhibits a high density of burials at the end of the Archaic period and continued to be used even more intensively in Classical times.¹⁵⁵

Gate(?) on Navarchou Nikodimou

Archaeological indications suggest the existence of a gate at the junction of Navarchou Nikodimou and Nikis streets (Fig. 106). The section of wall excavated here on Nikis street (TH55) seems to deviate from the usual straight course of the wall to form a zigzag. A possible bend in the fortification may have been dictated by an 'old road'¹⁵⁶ excavated at the intersection of Adrianou and Phlessa streets in the Plaka – perhaps part of an ancient road running

west-east along modern Navarchou Nikodimou street, as recent studies have suggested,¹⁵⁷ but also by the ancient road part of which was uncovered at 4 Xenophontos street (Fig. 106; top right).¹⁵⁸ Foundations of an ancient tower were revealed a few meters south of the wall found on Nikis street, on a natural rise of the ground (TH55; Fig. 106, centre), which might have been a gate tower. It is unknown whether the recent excavation carried out in 2018 on the road in front of 33 Nikis street has confirmed or rejected these assumptions.

We must await the discovery of stronger evidence for the existence of a gate in this area. It is unknown whether the recent excavation carried out in 2018 on the road in front of 31-33 Nikis street has confirmed or rejected these assumptions. Funerary monuments of the 4th century B.C. were found in close proximity (15 m.) to the hypothetical gate at the junction of Nikis and Navarchou Nikodimou streets, thrown into part of the fortification moat revealed during excavations at 27 Nikis street (TH54).¹⁵⁹ These findings suggest the probability that a roadside cemetery developed at this point outside the wall.

Gate(?) south of the Olympieion

Excavations south of the Olympieion peribolos (V6) revealed the foundations of a Valerian gate, but not, however, the remains of a Themistoklean precursor expected to be found beneath those foundations or elsewhere in the area.¹⁶⁰ Despite the lack of archaeological evidence, we should perhaps imagine a Themistoklean gate on the axis of the ancient road discovered within the circuit wall in the same excavations, which led in the direction of the Ilissos sanctuaries.¹⁶¹ The dating of the road is not certain, but we do know that its use was discontinued in the late Hellenistic period, and that it then functioned again in later periods.¹⁶² It would have crossed the Ilissos near the Kallirrhoe spring, and from there passed to the area called Agrai and the temple of Artemis Agrotera, perhaps then forking south towards the Kynosarges gymnasium.¹⁶³

The enigma of the Themistoklean gate in the area south of the Olympieion precinct cannot be resolved with the archaeological evidence currently available. The position of the gate must, nevertheless, have been adapted to a new reconstruction of this

arm of the wall (Fig. 97). The proposed Themistoklean line runs into the interior of the Valerian circuit and does not include the later Roman peristyle (the supposed Panhellenion), which was only later enclosed inside the Valerian peribolos. It would also be reasonable to assume that the Themistoklean wall protected within its limits the Archaic building that existed before the construction of the peribolos,¹⁶⁴ as well as the adjacent temple attributed to Apollo Delphinios.¹⁶⁵ Such reasoning would also suggest a transposition of the conjectural gate of the Themistoklean wall to the area west of the Valerian wall and on the axis of the crossing ancient road.¹⁶⁶

Barbié du Bocage, Fauvel, Pittakis and Ross had previously given the name Aigeos to a gate of the wall south of the Olympieion. Plutarch closely connects the Aigeos gate with the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios (*Theseus* 12.3): τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν πρὸς ἔω τοῦ ἱεροῦ καλοῦσιν ἐπ' Αἰγέως πύλαις,¹⁶⁷ and we cannot exclude the possibility that some natural passage existed here, long known as a 'gate', perhaps even a gate of the walls.¹⁶⁸ Travlos equated the gate south of the Olympieion precinct with the so-called Diomeian gate,¹⁶⁹ a name which is perhaps better suited to the proposed gate on Vourvachi street, discussed above (see pp. 262–263).

Gate(?) on Phalerou street

The so-called Phaleric gate, traces of which were perhaps visible until the early 20th century, is placed at the point where the ancient Phaleron road intersects the line of the wall.¹⁷⁰ Such a position has not been contradicted by discoveries of the ancient Phaleric road itself,¹⁷¹ nor of its roadside cemetery,¹⁷² nor of sections of the wall at points on either side of the ancient Phaleron road (Fig. 98, at left). On our Map, the gate is located in the corner plot of 2 Donta and Phalerou streets. This area was investigated by Keramopoulos in 1923–1924; however, the only information available on these excavations is a later note of Threpsiades that Keramopoulos 'found blocks and an aqueduct'.¹⁷³ The same plot was investigated in 2015 (see TH82.1; Catalogue of Sites); the results of the excavation, which have not been published yet, will possibly shed light on the remains preserved of this ancient gate.

The gates linked with the name Itonian have been positioned

by the majority of researchers on the axis of the Phaleric road. Judeich was the first to challenge this tradition, calling the gate the Diomeian and moving the name Itonian to the easternmost gate on his map, which he fixed at a point on Vourvachi street (see p. 260). He also equated the site of the gate on Phalerou street with one of the two gates referred to in the inscription *IG I³ 84*, that associated with the procession of the Mysteries to the sea, in lines 35–36 (καὶ τὸν πυλὸν ἔ(ι) ἄλαδε ἐ[χ]σελαύνοσιν οἱ μύσται).¹⁷⁴ Judeich's rationale was based on the fact that the position of the gate on Phalerou street is within the area south of the sanctuary of Dionysos Eleuthereus which is also mentioned in *IG I³ 84* (l. 35), and that the channelling of rainwater from it would follow a fairly smooth slope towards this gate.¹⁷⁵ From this point, the so-called ἄλαδε gate would provide an opening directed straight towards the bay of Phaleron and the sea (ἄλς); nevertheless, the correlation of this epigraphic reference with a specific gate exceeds the limits of our current knowledge.

Gate(?) on Mitsaion street

Another southern opening has been proposed near the intersection of Misaraliotou, Mitsaion and Tsami Karatasou streets (Fig. 99). Such a location is suggested by the remains of the ancient road network, although its configuration is still unclear within this area. Three excavated sections of ancient roads inside the city wall do not allow a clear reconstruction of their connections¹⁷⁶; however, part of an ancient road revealed to the southwest of the intersection of Mitsaion and Zitrou streets (Fig. 99, the middle stretch of road at top right)¹⁷⁷ lies around 55 m. from the wall, and it likely resulted at the inner ring road or at an opening of the wall (Fig. 65; see the opening in the wall).¹⁷⁸

Another road passes west of the Weiler building in a NE-SW direction (now visible under glass in front of the new Acropolis Museum), pointing to the area of the hypothetical gate on Mitsaion street (see Map).¹⁷⁹ The extension of this road might have met the arm of the wall around 50–60 m. further on. Additional evidence for the existence of a gate here is the fact that its proposed position is at a point of the wall between the gates on Phalerou and Erechtheiou streets, a distance of about 330 m. The dense urban fabric of the city to the south of the Acropolis might

perhaps have justified the existence of a further gate or postern facing the southern demes and the bay of Phaleron.¹⁸⁰

Mouseion Hill gate(?)

The communication between the city and Phaleron is believed to have been secured by a gate in the area of the Western Hills. The position of the gate has not been archaeologically pinpointed, but it would have been determined by the natural passage west of the steep slopes of the Mouseion hill (Philopappos) (Fig. 107).

Fig. 107: Reconstruction of part of the SW arm of the Themistoklean walls overlaid onto the map of Curtius/Kaupert (1881), Sheet I.

This passage is shown on the maps of Curtius and Kaupert, and Judeich.¹⁸¹ The gate lay east of the connection of the South Long Wall, or τοῦ διὰ μέσου τείχους¹⁸² (Pl. *Gorgias* 455d-e), with the Themistoklean wall. Perhaps the remains that Fauvel noted in 1806 belong to this gate, as he was walking along the Southern Long arm (the Phaleric wall, according to him) heading towards the city. As he described it in his diary, leaving the wall at his back, he took the path that led to the city, passing close by the western steep slope of the hill of the Muses: 'I saw the stone on which the door turned; after the gate, the wall ascends to the south to the steep summit of the hill'.¹⁸³ Fauvel's narrative corresponds with the course of the natural topographic route plotted by Stuart (Fig. 16). The position of the gate on the maps of Judeich and Travlos puts it around 100 m. northeast of the southern side of Apolloniou square. The natural passage within the circuit, which would have ended at the ancient gate, perhaps coincides with part of the modern path that leads to the 'Dora Stratou' Theatre of Greek Dance; the ancient heights on either side of this path have suffered many alterations to their original form because of extensive quarrying in the area.¹⁸⁴

Judeich proposed that the gate east of the South Long Wall should be given the name Melitides.¹⁸⁵ This name is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (*Vita Thucydidis* 17), as transmitted by Polemon: πρὸς γὰρ ταῖς Μελιτίσι πύλαις καλουμέναις ἐστὶν ἐν Κοίλῃ τὰ καλούμενα Κιμώνια μνήματα,¹⁸⁶ but also by Pausanias when referring to the proximity of the gates with the site of

Thucydides' tomb (1.23.9): οὐ πόρῳ πυλῶν Μελιτίδων. Nevertheless, there are no written sources linking the designation Melitides with a specific gate site. The same name was later given by Travlos to another site, the north gate of the *diateichisma*, between the Pnyx and the hill of the Nymphs, due to the association with the ancient deme Melite.¹⁸⁷ Instead, Lalonde has proposed that it is more logical to connect the location of the Melitides gates with the original line of the Themistoklean circuit, keeping closer to the ancient references on the monument of Thucydides (Paus. 1.23.9), and to the family of Kimon by Herodotus and other authors,¹⁸⁸ which would be situated in the area outside the Classical circuit and not outside the later *diateichisma*; besides, he argued that the deme Melite would be quite unlikely to have extended so far south as to include the Pnyx within its territory, and to then reach, as Judeich believed, all the way to the Themistoklean gate east of the South Long Wall.¹⁸⁹

Koile road gate(?)

The position of a gate of the Themistoklean wall that led to the area between the two Long Walls heading to Piraeus (Fig. 107) can be proposed across the extension of the Koile road mentioned by Herodotus (6.103.3): τέθαιπται δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεως, πέρην τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ.¹⁹⁰ The southwestern course of this road in all probability crossed the plot outside the circuit at 19 Antaiou street in Petralona, where part of an ancient road was uncovered.¹⁹¹ There is no archaeological evidence for the gate itself, although it was presumably at the point where the road intersected the line of the wall. According to Manolis Korres, the gate was located beneath the northern end of modern Apolloniou square and is almost completely destroyed.¹⁹² It is therefore not certain whether future archaeological work will be able to reveal any preserved remains.¹⁹³ The gate was called the 'Piraic' in 1841 by Forchhammer, but since then the name has been abandoned in favour of its association with the gate on Irakleidon street, as we saw above (see pp. 250–252). Perhaps the gate between the two Long Walls is more suited to the name Melitides, given that the Koile road passed through this gate on its way towards the deme of Melite.

In the area north of the hill of the Nymphs, Kleanthis and Schaubert (1831–1832), and later Curtius and Kaupert (1878), noted on their maps the traces then visible of ancient wheel ruts made by wagons passing along the road. On the first map, the traces are identified to the east and within the walls (Fig. 108),¹⁹⁴ while the second shows them to the west and outside the walls.¹⁹⁵ In his own map, Judeich placed Curtius and Kaupert's indications on Akamantos street, proposing the location of a hypothetical gate at the junction of Akamantos and Aktaiou streets (Fig. 109).¹⁹⁶

Fig. 108: The arm of the Themistoklean walls overlaid onto the map of Kleanthis – Schaubert (1831–1832). Probable ancient traces of wheel-ruts are indicated (see the group of small lines) north of Akamantos street (see Fig. 109). The identification of older and contemporary roads is indicated also at Aginoros and Avanton streets at the centre and left, and on Irakleidon above right. Lower left is the ancient *barathron*. Korres (2010a), part 6 “The maps”, 6.2, 4. Courtesy of the Melissa Publishing House.

Judeich thought that it was from this gate that the road to the ancient *barathron* passed, an ancient chasm made by the collapse of the rock.¹⁹⁷ The North Long Wall met the circuit of the city very close to the *barathron*, a hypothesis that is connected with Plato's description of a man called Leontios, who came up from the Piraeus outside the North Long Wall and saw the corpses from a distance; he then approached for a better view: ἀνίων ἐκ Πειραιῶς ὑπὸ τὸ βόρειον τεῖχος ἐκτός, αἰσθόμενος νεκροὺς παρὰ τῷ δημίῳ κειμένους (*Republic* 439e). Plutarch adds to our knowledge, saying that the house where Themistokles lived was in Melite, the deme where the executioners threw the corpses of the condemned after they were hanged: οὗ νῦν τὰ σώματα τῶν θανατουμένων οἱ δήμιοι προβάλλουσι (*Themistokles* 22.2).¹⁹⁸ Based on these sources, Judeich suggested giving the name Demian (δήμιος = *public executioner*) to the hypothetical gate on Akamantos street – a name found in Hesychius (Δημίαισι πύλαις). Judeich's proposal for the existence of gates at this spot and for their name has become generally accepted.¹⁹⁹

The placing of a western gate 80 m. northwest of that on Akamantos street is suggested on the basis of an ancient road, perpendicular to the fortification line, which was captured on the maps of Kleanthis and Schaubert (1831–1832) and Curtius and Kaupert (1878). According to Manolis Korres, this is an old pathway that survives in the sequence of local roads of Avanton, Aginoros and in part of Alimousion streets (Figs. 108–109).²⁰⁰

Fig. 109: Reconstruction of part of the west arm of the Themistoklean walls.

This route passes between two ancient quarries that operated south of Irakleidon street and outside the Themistoklean wall; one was the *barathron*, and the other a larger quarry that extended to the north but at a lower level.²⁰¹ There is likely to have been an opening at the point where the road intersected the wall, through which the wagons carried their heavy stones from the quarries.

The position of the gate should perhaps be fixed on Avanton street (Fig. 109), east of the section of fortification revealed at 6 Avanton (TH106). The *hamaxitos* road (Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.10) leading from the Piraeus to the city outside the North Long arm would have branched at some point northwest of the *barathron*, offering a choice between two gates, either the gate on Akamantos street (from which the wagons drove to the *barathron*), or the gate on Avanton street, at the termination of the old pathway (Fig. 108). The dense modern urban fabric of this area includes many old and abandoned houses, which may preserve valuable information about the course of the wall and the site of an opening in or beneath their basements.

Gate(?) on Poulopoulou street

It is likely that a second exit to the countryside existed in the area north of the Piraic gate (Fig. 100). This hypothesis is based on the study of the ancient road network, which suggests the reconstruction of up to three parallel roads north of the Piraic road.²⁰² Part of one of these ancient roads was discovered around 120 m. inside the wall at 17–21 Poulopoulou street.²⁰³ This section was oriented SE-NW and, if it extended up to the line of the wall, it would have alleviated the traffic on the busy Piraic road along two alternative routes: either exiting from a gate that should be at the

point where the imaginary extension of the road intersected the wall (ca. 60 m. north of the Piraic gate), or leading straight to the inner ring road, and from there to the Piraic gate.

We lack any concrete archaeological documentation for a gate here. The summary report by Philios on two finds, which he places approximately 100 m. southwest of the small church of Agios Athanasios Kourkouris, provides some unconfirmed and possibly misleading information on the existence of a gate in this area; the discoveries are described as follows: 'there was a wall preserved entirely of poros blocks built to a height of 1–1.50 French meters and placed [the blocks?] perpendicular from east to west [first find], and also further to the south a layer of the same poros blocks creates a platform of 3–4 French metres [second find]'.²⁰⁴ The first find is possibly transverse (E-W) to the wall construction (perhaps a buttress of the *proteichisma* or a side arm of a gate, or even blocks of the poros wall placed as headers), and the second is a construction which could belong to a tower or to part of a wall of the all-stone typology. These findings were discovered in 1901 during the laying of foundations in the property of Ioannis Kalamis.²⁰⁵ As research into the Archives of the Land Registry of Athens has shown, this house is located north of Pouloupoulou street and was perhaps within the modern plot boundaries of 7 Erysichthonos street (TH123).²⁰⁶

According to Philios, the second find is more likely to be the remains of a tower rather than a gate, because the Agios Athanasios Kourkouris hill would preclude the need for a second gate beyond the Piraic.²⁰⁷ Nevertheless, part of the area north of the hill of the Nymphs and up to Agios Athanasios Kourkouris was perhaps occupied by the crowded deme of Melite,²⁰⁸ and the dense road network of the area, documented by modern archaeological research, suggests that we cannot rule out the possible existence of two gateways, perhaps one principal and one secondary, or a postern, on the western edges of the city. The proximity of this site to the Agora, and the increased traffic from commercial transport between the city and the Piraeus, would justify such a need.²⁰⁹

Unidentified northeastern gate

There is indirect evidence for the existence of a northeastern

gateway to the southwestern foot of Lykavettos hill, near the Lyceum gymnasium. One reason for this hypothesis is the large stretch of the wall (670 m.) that extends between the gates on Dragatsaniou street to the north and Apollonos street to the south, without an intermediate gateway. More significant, however, is the presence of an extensive cemetery of Classical, Hellenistic and Roman times, which was first revealed in excavations of the block between Stadiou, Voukourestiou, Panepistimiou and Amerikis streets (V5) in 1926, where the Royal Stables were located.²¹⁰ The large northeastern cemetery of the ancient city has been excavated in many parts of Stadiou, Panepistimiou and Amerikis streets, and so far archaeological research has identified the pedestrian Korai street and Patriarchou Grigoriou V street (north of Sina street) as its northern boundary. The extent of the cemetery has been uncovered up to Syntagma square.²¹¹

The cemetery is believed originally to have had two burial nuclei, and that over time they merged together. Excavations for the Metro in Syntagma square proved that one of the burial cores developed from the gate on Apollonos street in a radius of more than 45 m. to the northern edge of the ancient road that led to the Mesogaia.²¹² The other core lay further north,²¹³ and it has been argued that the unidentified ancient road which would have crossed it started its course outside the fortification wall from the area where Kolokotroni street meets Stadiou,²¹⁴ although traces of a gate have not been found at this location.

Dörpfeld had proposed in 1888 a gate position further south, on the axis of the former Mouson street, now Karageorgi Servias.²¹⁵ In 1905, Judeich introduced another probable gate location a little further west on Ermou street.²¹⁶ The search for an ancient road, as an essential condition for the formation of an ancient cemetery, has not, however, borne fruit, either in 1958 during excavations at 3 Stadiou and 4 Karageorgi Servias streets,²¹⁷ nor in 2000, when a section of the eastward continuation of Karageorgi Servias was investigated on Vasileos Georgiou I street.²¹⁸ We cannot exclude the possibility that in the future traces of the crossing road will be found at an as yet uninvestigated point.

Another gate position in the same area had been discussed much earlier by Curtius and Kaupert (1881), on the junction of Christou Lada and Stadiou streets, a few meters north of

Kolokotroni street. Judeich proposed a postern gate around the same position, at a point between Christou Lada and Kolokotroni. It is worth noting that this has the same orientation as a path drawn by Fauvel on his map from the late 18th century (Fig. 18). It would not be improbable that part of the ancient road inside the city excavated at 5–7 Palaion Patron Germanou street, west of Klafthmonos square, was also directed to this area (Fig. 105). The imagined axis of the ancient road, which had a width of 5.50 m., would intersect with the *proteichisma* (TH37) disclosed at the southern side of the square towards Paparrigopoulou street. If this road did not terminate at the interior ring road of the wall, part of which came to light in Klafthmonos square, it would end at some gate to the north of the eastern cemetery. This interpretation would strengthen the possibility of a gate where Curtius-Kaupert and Judeich had suggested.

To summarise, the assumed northeast gate near the Lyceum gymnasium may be located in any of the above positions put forward at various times: at the intersection of Stadiou with Kolokotroni or Christou Lada, but also further south, at Karageorgi Servias or Ermou. A gate in the wall should exist at one of these points in order to ensure the city's communication with the large northeastern cemetery. This gate could be a candidate for the name given by Strabo (9.1.19) to a gate called *Diocharous*, which was near the source of the Eridanos,²¹⁹ but also near the Lyceum gymnasium.²²⁰

5 Conclusions

The study of published data indicates that the gates and posterns of the Athenian circuit wall are archaeologically securely documented in eleven instances (9 remains of gates/posterns; 2 remains of entrances to gates). A further 16 possible gates and posterns can be added to this total that do not have preserved remains, but whose positions are probable, to a greater or lesser extent, either because of the presence of the transverse retaining wall of the moat (4 sites of moat interruption) or because of the reconstruction of the road that likely crossed the gate (12 places of a crossing road to a possible gate).

The available evidence for the Athenian fortification wall, either certain proof or mere indications, offers us 27 exits from the ancient city. Some were principal gates, others smaller gates and

posterns.²²¹ Some would be designed from the beginning as gates of the Themistoklean wall, while others will have been added during subsequent fortification building. It should be emphasized that this sum does not indicate the total number of gates and posterns on the line of the Themistoklean course, but is an estimate based on the survey of the archaeological data for the fortifications and the ancient road networks, which comprised the bulk of this investigation into the gates.

The length of the city circuit is calculated at around 6,400 m.; the average distance, therefore, between the theoretical number of 26 exits (the postern to the west of the Sacred gate is not included here, because it is located directly beside the gate tower) is about 250 m. The shortest distance between two gates with surviving remains, perhaps between a main gate and a smaller gate or between a gate and a postern, is 60–70 m., as in the case of the two gates at the Kerameikos, the Sacred and the Dipylon. Similar distances have been identified in other cases of investigated gate sites, such as between the gates on Streit and Aioulou streets, or Navarchou Nikodimou and Lamachou, Irakleidon and Pouloupoulou, Akamantos and Avanton. For the southern arm of the fortifications, from the gate north of the Olympieion to the gate on Erechtheiou street, a distance of about 1,100 m., the positions of 7 gates/posterns are proposed, which produces an average distance of about 160 m. from gate to gate.²²² On the east side, by contrast, there appears to be a lower density of gates, such as the case of the gates between Dragatsaniou and Apollonos streets, a portion of wall some 670 m. in length, which supports the probable existence of at least one further gate along this stretch. Whether ultimately there were more or fewer gates, and in which period of time they functioned, will only be known after further research, and in particular when new discoveries come to light.

We can note here that the ten preserved ancient gates names, referred to above (see p. 235), are fewer than the theoretical number of gate sites identified by archaeological research. Of course, the preserved names of gates may relate to large principal gates and should not be necessarily be linked to the greater number of smaller gates or posterns.

3.3 The possible positions of the gates of the

eastern Valerian wall

To the south of the Olympieion peribolos, apart from the Valerian gate (V16) whose remains are visible and accessible, archaeological investigations have not revealed other gate sites along the eastern Valerian arm (Fig. 93, dark green line, east).²²³ In the absence of archaeological remains, we can obtain information about potential gates from the relevant notes captured on the old maps of Athens and connect them with the central roads that may have linked the city with the demes of Attica in Late Antiquity.

The northernmost suspected gate of the east arm of the Valerian wall is associated with the road axis illustrated in various cartographic works of Athens, such as that of Fauvel, Coubault, Wilkins, Kleanthis – Schaubert, Wordsworth, and Curtius – Kaupert. This axis ran along the length of the Hadrianic aqueduct, crossing the eastern foothills of Lykavittos to connect the city with Chalandri, Marousi, Kiphissia and other municipalities as far as Marathon.²²⁴ However, it is uncertain whether the road actually existed in the period when the Valerian wall was built. A gate position was, however, proposed on this axis by Stuart, and Curtius and Kaupert, which in the modern city would lie between Panepistimiou, Kriezotou, Akadimias and Vasilissis Sophias, north of the Greek Parliament building. Its possible existence is supported by the foundations of a tower that remain visible at the corner of Panepistimiou and Vasilissis Sophias (V8), or by one other tower discovered south of the first, at Merlin street (V10).²²⁵

The second possible eastern Valerian gate is marked further south on the old maps, on the central road leading from the city towards the Lyceum gymnasium and the communities in the Mesogaia plain. The placing of a gate pointing in this direction was commonly agreed upon by all early scholars, while the path of the ancient road to the Mesogaia has been detected by archaeological investigations at several points in the modern urban fabric.²²⁶

A third gate of the Valerian fortification addition was indicated near the Stadium. In the mid-18th century, Stuart drew a rural road (*via aggesta*) on his map that ran from the city to the Stadium bridge (Fig. 16). Fauvel would later see and record the same road on the axis of the Stadium, and finally Leake proposed the idea of a gate at this point, which was subsequently adopted by the majority of scholars; ancient remains both for the gate and the

road, however, have not so far been revealed.

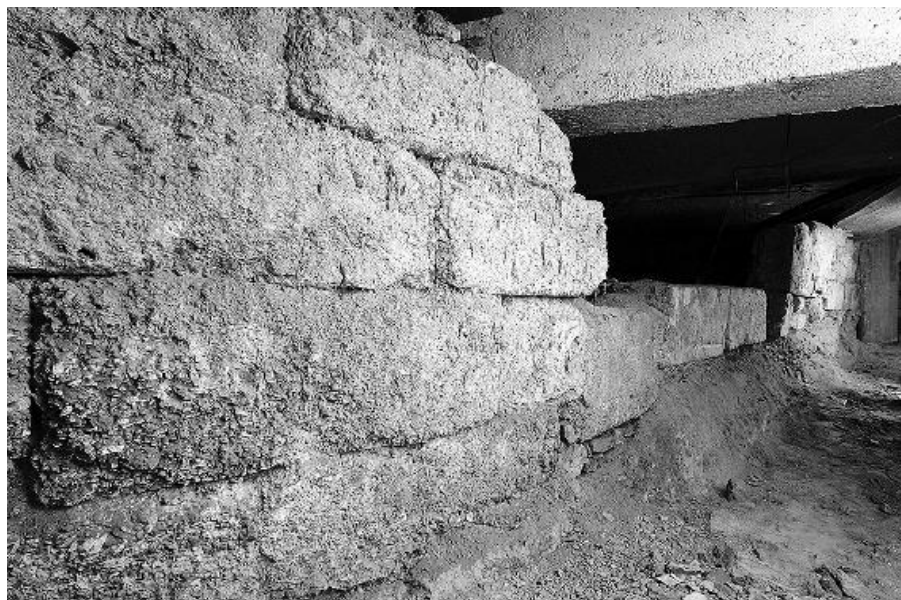
From the mass of these largely unanswered questions, for which only the original questions and speculations may be asked but not answered, we will proceed in the next section to examine a series of questions relating to another aspect of the monument, that of the management of the remains of the wall by the state.

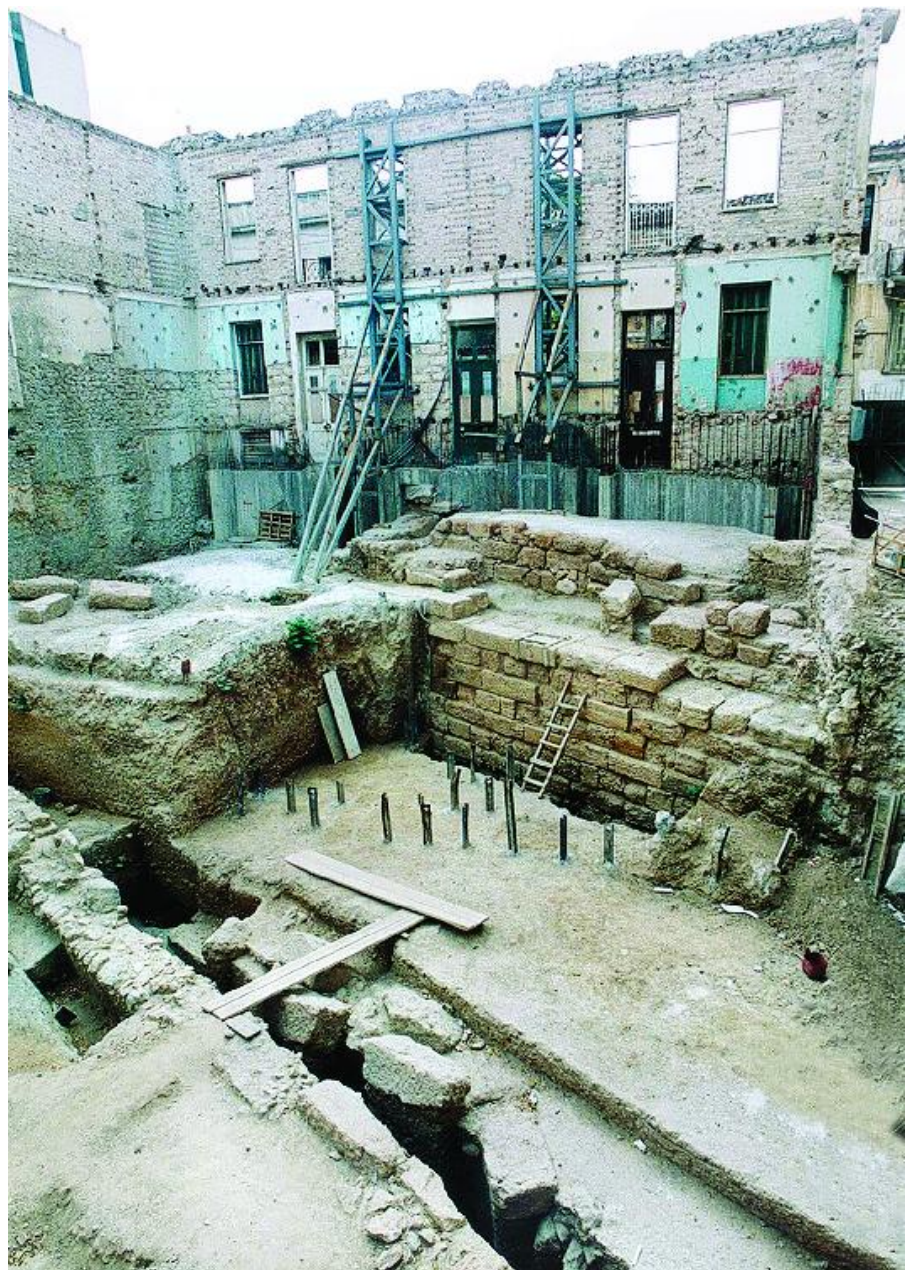








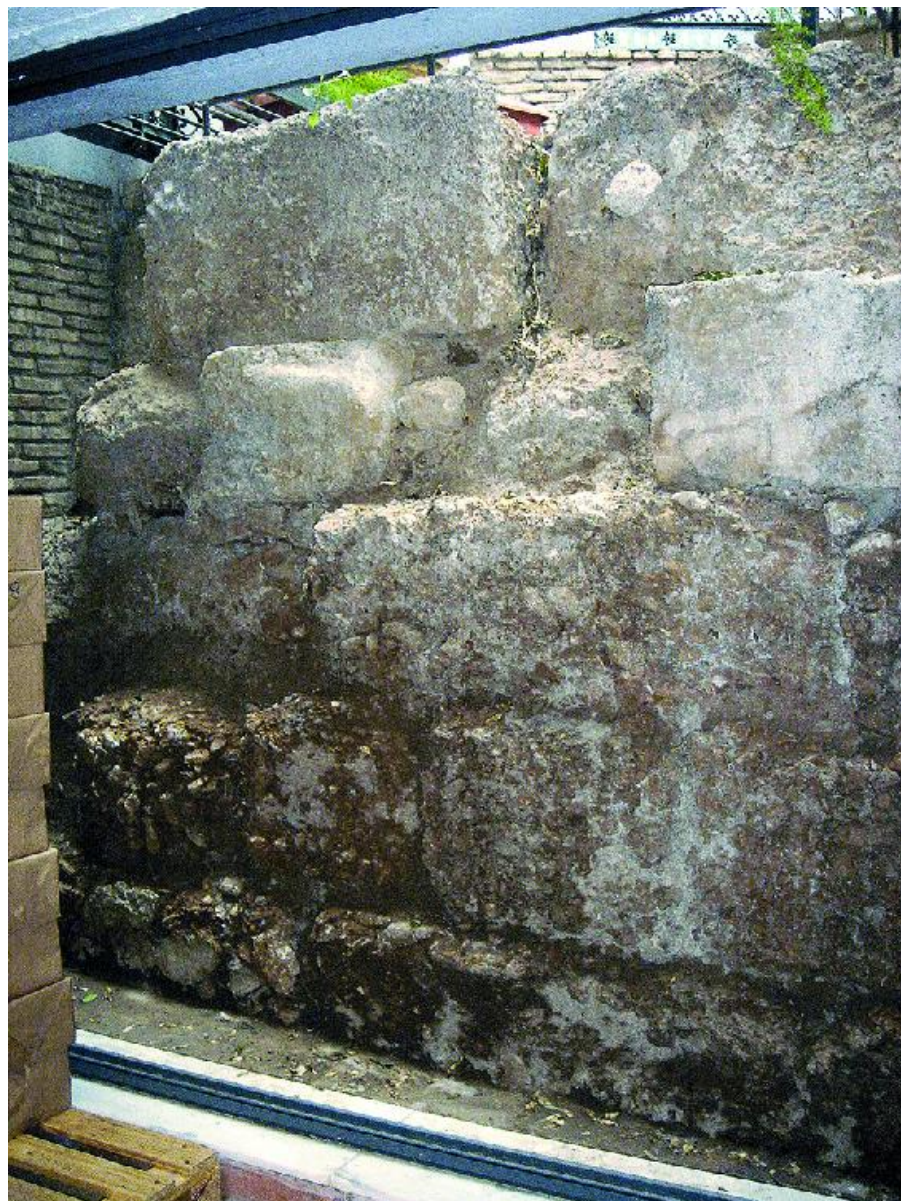


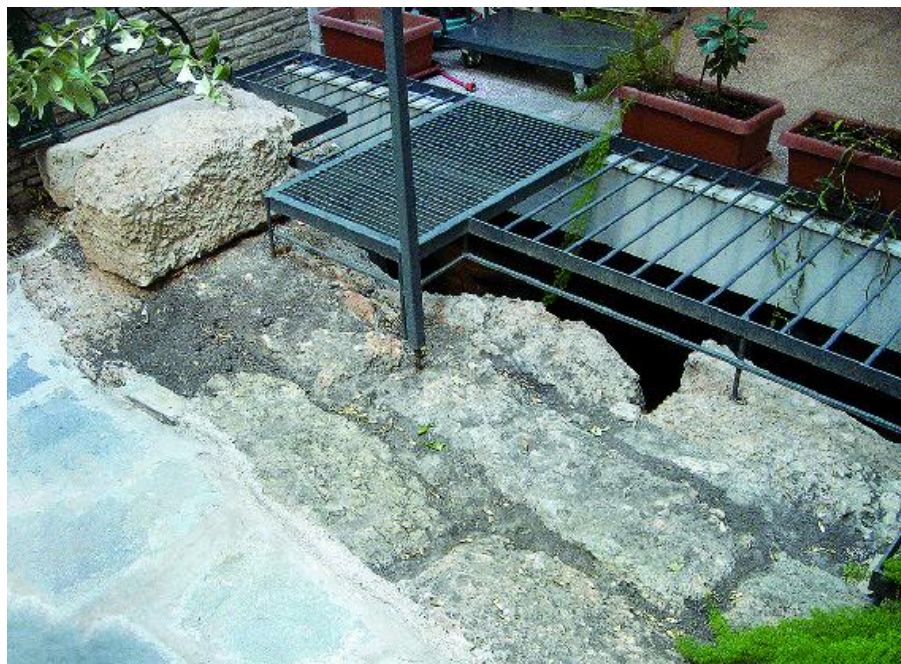














6 The Preserved Remains of the Walls

There are some of our fellow countrymen who believe that the interests

of the living should not be passed over for the sake of dead – as they call it – archaeology,

as if there is no other administrative method of bringing together

the needs

of modern culture with those of the science dealing with Antiquity

that is justly deemed one of the most essential elements for the very existence of our nation.

S. A. Koumanoudes, *PAE* 1882, 11.

In the middle of the 1950s, the view prevailed that the monumental ancient remains that had gradually come to light within the built-up centre of the city had to be preserved for future generations. Since then, the fortunes of these ruins and the methods by which they should be conserved have been a matter of constant concern for the state. Should nothing be allowed to be built on a plot in which antiquities had been discovered? Was it better to preserve those antiquities by re-burial or for them to remain visible and visitable? How might they best be displayed to the public? The treatment of the monuments in a city constructed on top of antiquities has taken many forms, and the breadth of alternative plans has occupied archaeologists, architects, town planners, conservators, environmentalists, as well as the general public.

The recorded conservation solutions presented on the following pages indicate how the preservation of the ancient wall was a matter of concern for the state from 1956, the year of the first integration of a section of the ancient wall into a new building, that at 10–12 Aristeidou street (TH33; Fig. 110).¹

Valuable information for this research was obtained from the Administrative Archive of the 3rd Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (EPKA),² but also from the Archives of the Central Archaeological Council (KAS).³ Since each protection solution is a separate case, this chapter is arranged as a catalogue, giving a short revue of each preserved section of the city wall.

Of the 182 sites of the ancient fortification known through excavation or other discoveries, 16 are preserved within open air archaeological sites that were declared as such as a result of systematic excavations, most of them accessible.⁴ The remaining 166 sites have been identified by rescue excavations, and of these, 77 have been designated for a special protection solution. It was decided to preserve the remains of the fortification to be viewable and accessible in 57 archaeological sites and to conserve 20 sites

by reburying them. Of the 57 cases, 32 were slated for incorporation of the ancient finds within the new building, 11 were maintained in outdoor or unbuilt plots of land, two plots were expropriated with the prospect of a future solution, and, finally, 12 conservation cases concern the preservation of the wall visible through transparent material.

There are several sections of the fortification whose protection status is not recorded in the archives under investigation. Out of the total 182 sites with city wall remains, there is no information on how the wall was treated for about 90 cases. The archaeological reports have repeatedly noted damage wrought against the fortification remains during public works in the roads or from the construction of new buildings. Although there are few records that can confirm their dismantling or destruction, it is almost certain that the modernisation of the city centre completely destroyed a great many parts of the wall. The Central Archaeological Council, as well as the Archaeological Service, have repeatedly complained about the risk of damage from mechanical diggers, but also about the destruction of physical remains, before permission to build had been issued.⁵ Undoubtedly, many of these remains were worthy of protection, judging from the excellent condition in which they were often found during excavations, as reported in several archaeological publications.⁶ Fortunately, at least those sections that were rescued and recorded are thought to be sufficient for the study of the ancient form of the wall and the demarcation of the ancient city of Athens.

The following catalogue of the remains of the fortification includes protection solutions that developed from 1956 to 2017, and classifies the city wall sites by preservation category: in the underground areas of buildings, reburied in situ, maintained in open air areas of plots, under glass floors, and, finally, in individual cases of expropriation. The specific solutions are presented in chronological order within each preservation category. Mixed solutions including glass structures were largely implemented from the 1990s onwards, and are discussed under the category of preservation beneath glass structures, particularly when they are kept in open air areas.⁷

1 Preservation in basement areas of buildings

10–12 Aristeidou street

The preservation of the wall in a basement area was first adopted in 1956, when the wall was incorporated into the building at 10–12 Aristeidou street (TH33). An underground stoa was constructed with an entrance from 10–12 Aristeidou, after a section of the wall had been dissected through its entire thickness, leaving two distinct parts visible and accessible on both sides of the stoa. The northern part of the wall is preserved within a specially shaped niche secured by a railing (Fig. 110). The opposite part is also visible and visitable in a shop. The *proteichisma*, which was discovered during the same excavation, was reburied, and the building was constructed on top of it.⁸ This solution was considered to be advantageous for the ancient remains, 'since at this point of the city, no simple plan can be made for expropriation'.⁹

72 Adrianou street

Following the excavation of the plot at 72 Adrianou street (PH10), it was decided in 1956 to preserve the wall in the basement of the building. The height of the building was increased in 1963 by additional floors, possibly in exchange for ensuring the protection of the ancient remains.¹⁰ A request for the construction of an elevator was also registered in 1968 by the owner. The Central Archaeological Council gave its opinion in favour of authorizing the dismantling of that part of the wall that obstructed the operation of the elevator.¹¹

Fig. 110: Section of the Hellenistic walls preserved in a niche within the stoa at 10–12 Aristeidou street (TH33). (ph. by author).

6 Dragatsaniou street

As soon as the wall and the *proteichisma* were excavated in 1957 at 6 Dragatsaniou street (TH35), the discovery was immediately declared an historical monument.¹² However, the implementation of a costly expropriation of the plot was an insurmountable obstacle, resulting in a permit to build the current office building.¹³ The solution that was applied in this case was the result of

choosing the best preserved remains of the wall (Figs. 111–112).¹⁴

Fig. 111: Part of the Hellenistic walls at 6 Dragatsaniou street (TH35). (ph. by author).

Fig. 112: A characteristic section of the Hellenistic walls at 6 Dragatsaniou street (TH35). An all-stone construction of conglomerate blocks in isodomic masonry. (ph. by author).

The decision of the Central Archaeological Council was to dismantle the wall not only to its height but also across its width, which was damaged in parts.¹⁵ While the demolition had already progressed halfway through the width of the wall, and had been planned to go even further, the Ephor of Antiquities, Ioannis Threspiades, who had supervised the dismantling work, found that part of the widening of the wall that had already been destroyed was in fact a very important discovery: it was the first staircase of the walls of Athens to be identified until that time; it was built on the inner side of the wall along a length of 11 m., and probably led to the battlements or to a tower.¹⁶ Following Threspiades' persistence, and after autopsy by the members of the Central Archaeological Council, the morphological and academic value of the demolished fortification section led to the imposition of a new decision which, among other things, preserved the entire thickness of the wall that was left, but also prohibited the placing of supporting pillars into the body of the wall. At the same time, the view of both sides of the wall was partly secured.¹⁷

In order to raise public interest, special lighting and an appropriate layout of the surrounding area was proposed, even the construction of a scale model of the ancient wall. The ultimate aim of the archaeologists of the Service was for the ancient remains 'to be visible to the community passing through the stoa 24 hours a day'.¹⁸ Within this context, a small section of the wall, 3 m. in length, was also removed throughout its width, creating a passage that connects the stoas at 6 Dragatsaniou street and 6 Aristeidou street, providing a double access to the archaeological site (Fig. 112, far right).¹⁹ The section of the wall is preserved in the basement of the building at 6 Dragatsaniou, a space free of any other uses.

2 Vourvachi street

The first decision of the Central Archaeological Council in 1958 concerning the granting of a building permit to the corner plot at the intersection of 2 Vourvachi street and Syngrou avenue (TH73) was negative, due to the great archaeological value of the finds.²⁰ However, this was soon re-examined, and the construction of the building was approved with the stipulation that the remains of the ancient fortification were to be preserved and made viewable.²¹ At the same time, permission was also granted for shelves to be built in the gaps between the ancient remains for the storage of goods. In 1973, an autopsy by the Archaeological Service revealed that the remains of the wall were completely concealed beneath a rough wooden covering.²² In 1974, six floors were added to the building, on condition that the individual user of the underground space of the shop would protect the wall and keep it uncovered.²³

15–17 Mitropoleos street (Electra Metropolis hotel)

Of all the elements of the fortification revealed in 1959 in the plot at 15–17 Mitropoleos street (TH49), the northern retaining wall of the crossing ancient road that led to the gate on Apollonos street is preserved in the basement of the building. In 1993, during an autopsy by the 3rd Ephorate of Antiquities, the underground space was found being used as a storeroom with the result that ‘the ancient wall had almost entirely been covered by a pile of chairs’.²⁴ During our visit in 2006, the retaining wall of the ancient road was visible in an area free from other uses. Since 2016, the Electra Metropolis hotel preserves the archaeological remains intact in a seminar hall, behind a low protective glass wall (Fig. 113; see also p. 314).

Fig. 113: Retaining wall which supported one side of the crossing road to a gate of the walls as well as the slopes of the moat. Now in the basement of a hotel building at 15–17 Mitropoleos street (TH49). (ph. by author).

74 Adrianou street

The section of the wall at 74 Adrianou street (PH11) has been preserved since 1961 in the basement of the Adrian Hotel, visible

and visitable. The solution for the protection of the archaeological find was agreed in exchange for increasing the height of the building by 2 m. (from 12 to 14 m.).²⁵ Access to the remains of the fortification is by a stairwell.

Fig. 114: Section of the Hellenistic walls at the corner of 14 Aristeidou and Pesmazoglou (TH32). The ancient road lies in front of the wall, which followed its course (ph. Marina Alexandri).

14 Aristeidou and Pesmazoglou streets

Part of the ancient fortification discovered at the corner of 14 Aristeidou and Pesmazoglou streets (TH32) has been preserved visible and accessible since 1965, incorporated into the new building (Figs. 77, 114). It is comprised of a single set of three elements of the fortification: the wall, the *proteichisma*, and the ring road between them. An interesting idea of the initial study for the protection of the monument was the provision of a special gallery placed in a position above and parallel to the wall, so that the view of the ancient remains could be seen from some distance with special lighting in order to emphasise the importance of the monument.²⁶ Eventually, however, the proposal did not materialise. According to the preservation plans finally agreed, the owner of the building was under an obligation to keep the archaeological remains accessible to those wishing to study them.²⁷ During autopsy by the Archaeological Service in 2004, the space was found being used as a car park, and the surfaces of the blocks had suffered from exhaust fumes. Since then, the remains of the fortification have been completely separated from other uses in the basement and are protected by a partition wall and a railing.

10 Sokratous and Sophokleous streets

After modifications to the building's original plan at 10 Sokratous and Sophokleous streets (TH23), it was decided in 1965 to keep the western part of the *proteichisma*, which was the largest and the best-preserved section, visible and visitable. The eastern part, which was discovered only at a very low foundation level, was reburied beneath the floor of the basement. The acquisition by the

Archaeological Service of a 15-meter-long zone of land on the plot has allowed access to the remains from a special entrance through the communal area of the building.²⁸ Access to the archaeological site was not possible during our visit.

20 Erechtheiou street

In 1966, the state decided to protect the section of the wall discovered at 20 Erechtheiou street (TH94) and to make it open to the public.²⁹ Visitors to the area have the opportunity to examine closely one of the most interesting sections of masonry of the wall, which is imposing within the semi-basement area with its size and excellent state of preservation of the southern facing of the wall. It is preserved in an area free from other uses (Fig. 42), and it is accessible with a special permit from the Archaeological Service.

8 Phalirou and 7 Dimitrakopoulou streets

The section of the fortification discovered at the junction of 8 Phalirou and 7 Dimitrakopoulou streets (TH84) was preserved in 1966 in order that the surviving stones should be visible and accessible in the basement of the apartment building. However, as early as 1978, the Archaeological Service found the appearance of the ancient remains had changed, having been covered with plaster, and that they were no longer visitable.³⁰ The space is used for storage and the remains of the fortification are not visible.³¹

29 Erysichthonos and Nileos streets

The remains of the wall and tower discovered in 1966 in a plot at 29 Erysichthonos and Nileos streets (TH108) are protected within an expropriated semi-basement area; they are visible from the pavement of Erysichthonos street through a metal mesh and accessible from within the apartment building.³²

5–7–9 Vourvachi street

The section of the fortification that crossed the area of the plot at 5–7–9 Vourvachi street (TH67) was given a protection status in 1970 and made visible and accessible. This particular conservation

decision was taken at the expense of the integrity of the ancient remains, as at least six blocks of the walls were dismantled, as well as other ancient remains surrounding it, in order to construct a concrete wall.³³ During an autopsy by the 3rd Ephorate of Antiquities in 1978, it was discovered that the form of the wall was not recognizable.³⁴ The area housing the ancient wall is not accessible.

94 Adrianou street

The wall at 94 Adrianou street is visible and can be visited in the basement of the building (PH20).³⁵

19–25 Parthenonos street

The section of ancient fortification discovered in 1973 in the plot at 19–25 Parthenonos street (TH93) is kept visible and visitable in a semi-underground archaeological site in the Divani Palace Acropolis Hotel (Fig. 115). The remaining ancient finds in the excavated area were preserved by reburying them, along with other important elements of ancient topography, such as the rare example of a paved street. The underground area for the protection of the wall was given over by the owner in 1973 in exchange for permission to add another floor to the building.³⁶

Fig. 115: Foundations of the wall in a basement area of the Divani Pallas Acropolis hotel at 19–25 Parthenonos street (TH93) in Koukaki. (ph. by author).

Klafthmonos square (underground area)

When the wall first came to light (TH37) during demolition works at Klafthmonos square in 1958, the Ministry of Public Works found it necessary to stop the project in order to conduct an archaeological excavation to ascertain the course of the wall.³⁷ Later, within the framework of the construction of an underground car park at Klafthmonos square, a large rescue excavation was carried out between 1971–1974. The course of the fortification spanned the entire space between Stadiou, Dragatsaniou, Palaion

Patron Germanou, and Paparrigopoulou streets, heading in a NW-SE direction. The initial plan suggested in 1971 by the Archaeological Service was to preserve the whole line of the walls in the form of a small, oblong and landscaped square in an open-air space with a small café.³⁸ In the end, a section of the wall was preserved in the open square (see p. 304), while part of the *proteichisma* is visitable in the basement of the car park (Fig. 116).

Fig. 116: Section of the *proteichisma* in an underground car park at Klafthmonos square (TH37). (ph. by author).

5-7 Paparrigopoulou street

Three blocks of the *proteichisma* are preserved in a basement of the Museum of the City of Athens (Vouros-Eutaxias Foundation) at 5-7 Paparrigopoulou street (TH38); perhaps the decision to preserve the remains was made during the restoration of the original structure of the house of Stamatios Dekozis-Vouros.³⁹

14 Veikou and Misaralilotou streets

The remains in the plot at 14 Veikou and Misaralilotou streets (TH85) were recognized as significant in 1977 because of the good state of preservation in which they were discovered. The site was expropriated and purchased by the state. It was decided to make the wall visible to the general public by creating a free space 2.20–2.50 m. high between the surface of the antiquities and the basement ceiling. At the same time, caution was taken not to allow the footing to rest on the ancient remains, but in areas free from antiquities.⁴⁰ A visit for the present research project was not possible.

5-7-9 Dipylou street

The wall at 5-7-9 Dipylou street (TH10) has been preserved since 1980 in two separate underground areas with different access to each of its faces.⁴¹ The southern side of the wall is completely segregated in a particular area (Fig. 117).

Fig. 117: Sections of the inner face of the wall along the intramural

ring-road (right) in the basement of 5–7–9 Dipylou street (TH10). The wall is preserved in a good state, except the middle section. Excavation of 1979–1980. (ph. by author).

The northern side is cut-off from the rest of the basement by a wall, although a solution for the owner to make use of the space has fully secured the antiquities from any deterioration (Fig. 59). Both spaces are visitable with a special permit from the Archaeological Service.

96 Adrianou street (Benizeli mansion, eastern part)

After the conservation works that took place in 1984–1985 for the surviving northern face of the Post-Herulian wall, the ancient structures remained visible and accessible in the basement of the building at 96 Adrianou street (PH22), which belonged to the Athenian family of Benizeli (1501–1700).⁴² This preservation solution was later included in the architectural reconstruction programme of the Benizeli mansion, a typical example of post-Byzantine Athenian architecture, which opened to the public in 2017 (see p. 314, for the protection of the city wall in the courtyard of the mansion).

37 Poulopoulou street

The wall at 37 Poulopoulou street (TH120) has been preserved in the basement of the apartment building since 1988. The protection solution belongs to those cases where the immediate necessity to shore up the neighbouring buildings forced the 3rd Ephorate of Antiquities to allow the construction of footings in contact with the wall along the foundations of the apartment building.⁴³ The final result was the creation of two separate underground spaces, of low height, separated by a cross-wall. The possibility of studying the remains has become virtually impossible for the part of the wall located deep within the area.

5–7 Tsami Karatasou street

Since 1988, a large part of the *proteichisma* has been preserved

visible and visitable in the basement of the apartment building at 5–7 Tsami Karatasou street (TH89). Next to it, part of a large ancient building is preserved which, during Roman times, was founded on top of the remains of the *proteichisma* (Fig. 118).⁴⁴ Despite pressure for the total expropriation of the site,⁴⁵ a permit was eventually granted to construct a building on the condition that a large part of the basement would be cut off and that a ceiling would be built high above the ancient remains.⁴⁶

Fig. 118: Part of the *proteichisma* of the 4th century B.C. at 5–7 Tsami Katatasou street (TH89). At the back, part of the walls of the 2nd century B.C. on the line of the older *proteichisma*. (ph. by author).

18 Erechtheiou street

The protection solution applied to most of the fortification discovered in the plot at 18 Erechtheiou street (TH96) was to preserve the remains intact in the basement of the building. An ancient tower, occupying part of the unbuilt area of the plot, was protected beneath a glass roof. In light of the clear danger to the integrity of the remains during the building's construction, the initial action of the 3rd Ephorate of Antiquities in 1990 was the total expropriation of the land and the protection of all the remains under a special roof.⁴⁷ However, after a new study to ensure the integrity of the ancient remains was approved, the Central Archaeological Council granted permission to construct the building.⁴⁸ The decision was then followed by a move on the part of the residents of the area, who applied three times to the Council of State for an annulment of the ministerial decisions.⁴⁹ The section of ancient fortification at 18 Erechtheiou street was finally incorporated into the basement of the building, which is used as a storage space for the owner's business, and is visitable with a permit from the Archaeological Service.

88A Adrianou street

Part of the wall has been preserved since 1993 and is visible in the underground storeroom of the shop at 88A Adrianou street (PH18). While in similar cases on Adrianou street, the decision was

taken to preserve the wall viewable beneath a glass floor (88B Adrianou, 86 Adrianou), in the case of number 88A, no such solution was implemented and it was decided to allow the basement area to be used by the business for storage purposes.

17 Sokratous street

From the antiquities discovered in 1998 in the interior of the neoclassical building at 17 Sokratous street (TH21), the entire section of the *proteichisma* was kept visible in the northern part of the basement. A small part of the curtain wall was safely protected behind the reinforcement beam.⁵⁰ The site is not currently visitable.

22 Agion Asomaton and 12–14 Dipylou streets

A single slice of the whole fortification is housed in the Islamic Museum, an annex of the Benaki Museum, at the junction of 22 Agion Asomaton and 12–14 Dipylou streets (TH4). The preservation project on the remains was carried out over the period 1997–2002 (Fig. 119).

Fig. 119: Excavation at the corner of 22 Agion Asomaton and 12–14 Dipylou streets (TH4) and works to prop up the facades of two Neoclassical buildings which would later house the Islamic collection of the Benaki Museum. Part of the *proteichisma* of the 4th century B.C. can be seen (the wall with the ladder against it); above the *proteichisma*, at the back, is part of the 3rd century A.D. Valerian fortifications. The area in front of the *proteichisma* is the moat. (ph. Pavlos Kalligas).

At the same time, the two neoclassical buildings comprising the museum were renovated. The Ephorate principally wished to save as much as possible of the *proteichisma* (Fig. 80), but also the outer retaining wall of the moat, which was parallel to the *proteichisma*, while maintaining the area of the fortification moat visible. Eventually, these were secured, while the conglomerate blocks of the moat's retaining wall that had been discovered fallen into the trench were also reinstated to their approximate original positions.⁵¹

6 Avanton

The decision for the fate of the remains of the wall discovered in 2005 at 6 Avanton street was to preserve them in the basement of the block of flats. Access to this site was not possible.

42 Leokoriou

The remains of the wall and possibly sections of a gate that were revealed in 2008–2009 at the plot on 42 Leokoriou street (TH6) are preserved in the basement of the construction, and are not visible.

12–14 Iosiph ton Rogon and 19 Lempesi

The ancient remains revealed to the southwest of the Olympieion at the plot at 12–14 Iosiph ton Rogon street are protected by glass structures in the basement of the apartment building. They are visible from the street and one can see from above the stone blocks along the fortification line, which is interrupted by an opening in the wall. The excavation is not yet published and therefore the identification and precise interpretation of the remains are therefore unknown.

3–5 Aioulou and 64 Adrianou (the historic Aiolos Hotel)

The restoration of the historic 'Aiolos' hotel (PH8), the first to be built in Athens (1835 or 1837), took place in the years 2010–2011. According to a unanimous decision of the Central Archaeological Council, the findings will be made accessible to the general public, visible through glass bridges and corridors.

2 Preservation by re-burial⁵²

6 Koryzi street

The initial solution for the protection of the *proteichisma* in the plot at 6 Koryzi street (TH76) was approved in the mid-1960s,⁵³ a period when the state was in favour of promoting the remains of the

ancient wall to the general public. The preservation of the ancient remains in the basement of the building was soon approved after the expropriation of the area, but a few months later, following the coup of the military junta in April 1967, the approved solution was rejected because of the high cost of the project,⁵⁴ and the construction of the building was allowed after the decision was made to rebury the remains.

12 Parthenonos street

The foundations of the square tower discovered in the plot at 12 Parthenonos street (TH91) were initially planned in 1966 to be preserved in the basement, which would be expropriated.⁵⁵ Finally, a new decision of the Central Archaeological Council was issued at the beginning of 1968 to rebury the remains, and permission was granted to construct the building.⁵⁶

11 Dipylou street

Part of the Themistoklean wall is preserved reburied beneath the building at 11 Dipylou (Fig. 46, TH9). The Central Archaeological Council initially proposed in 1968 two alternative methods of protection: the preservation of the remains in the basement of the building, or their reburial; a ministerial decision adopted the second solution.⁵⁷ A year later a new pronouncement was issued by the Central Archaeological Council, approving the preservation of the wall in the basement of the building, and providing the owners with compensation.⁵⁸ The Greek state then bought the basement and transferred its ownership to the Archaeological Service.⁵⁹ The ambiguity in the early correspondence was raised after an autopsy by the archaeologists of the Ephorate, who established in 1970 that the wall was not visible in the basement, and that it had been reburied beneath the floor.⁶⁰ During our visit, the space was being used as a warehouse by merchants who keep shops on Dipylou street.

3 Vourvachi street

It was agreed in 1968 that the protection solution for the wall at 3 Vourvachi street would be the reburial of the ancient remains

(TH68).⁶¹ However, because of the technical difficulties created during the building's construction by the presence of the ancient remains, five stones from the upper course of the wall were removed and placed at a lower level, roughly on the same layout. In addition, a permit was granted for the placing of a pillar on the front of the building, which was sunk into the wall.⁶²

29–31 Sophokleous street

In 1978, it was decided to rebury the remains of the *proteichisma* at 29–31 Sophokleous street (TH24) in order to preserve their integrity.⁶³ The whole surface area of the plot was then released to the owner, who was compensated for the loss of part of the basement where the antiquities are preserved.

13 Erysichthonos street

The Ephorate suggested in 1991 that the *proteichisma* at 13 Erysichthonos street (TH119) should be reburied as the only possible solution; this was approved after a modification of the plans for the footing of the building so that the ancient remains were not affected.⁶⁴ This action was adopted because the remains of the *proteichisma* had occupied the central part of the plot. The alternative solution to preserve the remains in the basement was thought to be an extremely expensive and difficult project to implement, and so was not carried out.

24 Agion Asomaton

The strong construction identified as a tower of the Early Christian period was reburied in situ in the backyard of a renovated property at 24 Agion Asomaton street (TH3.1). The site is bordered by the Islamic Museum, an annex of the Benaki Museum, the basement of which retains part of the ancient fortification (TH4).

3 Preservation in outdoor areas of plots

46 Adrianou and Vrysakiou streets

The ancient wall is embedded into an exterior wall of a building at

the corner of 46 Adrianou and Vrysakiou streets (PH3) and is visible from Vrysakiou street. It comprises the eastward continuation of the wall preserved to a great height to the east of the Stoa of Attalos inside the archaeological site of the Agora. This action was decided in 1962, when the Central Archaeological Council nullified the granting of a building permit.⁶⁵ The proposals for an expropriation or outright purchase order for archaeological purposes was based on the proximity of the find to the Stoa of Attalos and the existing wall there.

24-26 and 28 Veikou street

The section of the Valerian wall discovered in 1964 in the plot at 28 Veikou street (V21) was located in the backyard of the building under construction, and thus it was considered appropriate to preserve it intact and visible. Its continuation was identified in 1969 by archaeological investigations in the neighbouring plot of 24-26 Veikou (V20), which is preserved in the archaeological area next to the apartment building.⁶⁶

15 Erysichthonos street

The surviving part of the fortification at 15 Erysichthonos street (TH118) was preserved in 1965 in the backyard of the property. In 1972, autopsy by the Ephorate proved that the surface of the remains had been altered, as it was covered in plaster, and that, for this reason, this part of the fortification ceased to retain its former status as a preserved and accessible monument.⁶⁷

84 Adrianou and Mnisikleous streets

The wall discovered in the plot at 84 Adrianou and Mnisikleous streets (PH14) has been preserved since 1967 in the outdoor area of the plot and is visible from the staircase leading to the basement of the shop.

Vasilissis Sophias avenue and 2 Panepistimiou street

The Valerian wall and the foundations of one of its towers were discovered at the end of the 1970s at the intersection of Vasilissis Sophias avenue and Panepistimiou street (V8); they are preserved and can be seen by anyone visiting the building (formerly the Astir Hotel) as well as to the passer-by (Fig. 120).

Fig. 120: Outer face of the Valerian wall in the open area at the junction of Vasilissis Sophias avenue and 2 Panepistimiou street (V8), opposite the Grande Bretagne Hotel and the Greek Parliament. (ph. by author).

This conservation decision was linked with a desire to promote the wall to the general public because of its central location in Athens. A proposal was initially made to transfer the blocks and then reposition them in another space, but this proved to be technically impossible and would also have been detrimental to the integrity of the remains.⁶⁸ Finally, due to the high cost of expropriation, the Central Archaeological Council decided that the integration of the ancient remains into an area in front of the building was the most realistic solution.⁶⁹

Klafthmonos square (open-air area)

Following the beginning of the construction works of the underground car park at Klafthmonos square (see p. 292), the ancient blocks were collected and secured, until more suitable conditions allowed for their reintegration.⁷⁰ An investigation by the Ministry of Planning, Housing and the Environment into the structural stability of the square's infrastructure led to the realisation in 1980 that no additional loads could be added. A new proposition was therefore put forward to place the fortification remains in the natural open ground of the square, and eventually the repositioning and rebuilding of the dismantled wall was approved, following a shifting along its axis 17 m to the west.⁷¹ Part of the ancient wall and the foundations of a tower (TH37) are visible in the open area of the square (Fig. 121).

Fig. 121: Foundations of a tower (left) and part of the Hellenistic walls (bottom) in the open area of Klafthmonos square (TH37). (ph. by author).

50 Irakleidon street

Parts of two side walls of the known Piraic gate of the Themistoklean wall, through which passed the ancient road connecting Athens with the Piraeus, were located in 1982 at 50 Irakleidon street (TH117). Unfortunately, the foundation works for the new building, which preceded the archaeological investigation, caused serious damage to the sections of the gate and the crossing road with a mechanical digger.⁷² Remains that were saved are maintained visible and accessible in the outdoor area of the apartment building (Figs. 56–58).

54 Irakleidon and Erysichthonos streets

The remains of the ancient fortification discovered in 1987 beneath the road at 54 Irakleidon street (TH114) were deemed significant both because of their position – they are only a few feet southwest of the Piraic gate – but also because of their dimensions and form. After the excavation, the area was configured in such a way that most of the ancient structures remain visible and visitable along the pedestrian street of Irakleidon (Fig. 122).⁷³ This gives the opportunity to view the fortification in a communal space, while the discovery is described on an information panel.

Fig. 122: Remains of the ancient fortification on the pedestrianised Irakleidon street, at the junction with Erysichthonos street in Theseio (TH114). (ph. by author).

34 Propylaion street

The state decided in 1999 not to include the remains of the wall at 34 Propylaion street (TH101) within the building, but to preserve them in the outdoor area. The solution was principally chosen due to the fact that the course of the wall was in contact with the partition wall of the plot of the northern property. Remains of the wall are kept visible and accessible in the courtyard of the house (Fig. 123).

Fig. 123: Outer blocks of the Classical wall in two parallel rows left of the modern paving of a private courtyard at 34 Propylaion street

(TH101). (ph. by author).

8 Koryzi street

A mixed solution was adopted for the protection of the *proteichisma* discovered at 8 Koryzi street (TH77). In 2000, a small section of the *proteichisma* was preserved intact inside the building.⁷⁴ However, the largest part of it occupies the outdoor area of the plot (Fig. 124); its upper surface, seen today from above, was used during the Roman period as a foundation for a passing street (Fig. 125).

Fig. 124: Outer face of the *proteichisma* in a building at 8 Koryzi street (TH77), from the basement. (ph. by author).

Fig. 125: Section of the *proteichisma* at 8 Koryzi street (TH77) viewed from above. (ph. by author).

4 Preservation beneath glass structures⁷⁵

86 Adrianou and Mnisikleous streets

The wall discovered in 1969 in the corner plot of 86 Adrianou and Mnisikleous streets (PH16) remains visible through the ground floor of the building. The visitor to the shop can examine the massive stone blocks from above, which are illuminated beneath a glass floor.

98 Adrianou street

It was initially proposed to expropriate the basement that contained part of the wall discovered in 1985 in the plot at 98 Adrianou (PH23) in Plaka.⁷⁶ The passing wall was deemed important because of its preservation to a great height, and because of its joining with a tower. Later, however, it was decided to keep the remains in the basement area. The wall is visible beneath a glass floor.

4 Phlessa and Kyrristou streets

Another section of the wall was preserved beneath a protective glass floor in 1993 within the building at the junction of 4 Phlessa and Kyrristou streets in Plaka (PH25). The 1st Ephorate of Antiquities initially proposed the expropriation of the property, in order to reveal the continuation of the ancient wall beneath the reconstructed two-floor residence, the old Gaspari mansion. The position was considered important because of the conviction of archaeologists in the 19th century that this region coincided with the ancient Prytaneion. In 1989, the request for expropriation, which would have meant the demolition of the property, was rejected unanimously by the Central Archaeological Council due to the expense, but also because it was a characteristic example of 18th century architecture.⁷⁷ It was finally decided that the wall would be preserved and visible through the floor of the building's courtyard; it is accessible by a small hatch. A large storage pithos placed at the angle formed by the change in direction of the course of the wall was also preserved next to the wall.⁷⁸

88B Adrianou street

The section of wall that crosses the plot at 88B Adrianou street has been maintained beneath glass on the ground floor since 1994, when renovations of the building took place (PH17). It was the first case of such preservation of the remains along Adrianou street. The ancient wall is not accessible.

40 Drakou and 9 Sophroniskou streets

Another case of protection and preservation of the Themistoklean wall under a transparent floor was created in 1997 in the building located between 40 Drakou and 9 Sophroniskou streets (TH102), on the eastern foot of the hill of the Muses (Fig. 126). Permission to construct the building was granted on the condition that the revealed remains would be kept visible, and the deletion from the building plans of the part of the basement where the antiquities were located was also a precondition.⁷⁹ Following the change to the original construction plan, it was decided to keep the wall intact, visible and accessible beneath an illuminated glass floor.⁸⁰

Fig. 126: The walls of the Classical period at 9 Sophroniskou street

(TH102), on the eastern slope of the Hill of the Muses (Philopappos). (ph. by author).

82–84 Aiolou and Sophokleous streets

The conservation of the remains of the so-called Acharnian gate within the building of the National Bank of Greece (TH29) constitutes a mixed solution (Figs. 83, 127). Some remains are in the open air, while others are kept beneath a glass floor on which visitors can walk. The area is approached from both the pedestrian street of Aiolou, which is crossed by the ancient Acharnian road (Fig. 128), as well as from Sophokleous street, with the result that the remains are clearly visible to the general public.

Fig. 127: Remains of the ancient fortification beneath glass pyramids on the pedestrianised Aiolou street (TH28). Opposite, the information board for the remains of the access to a gate in the walls, preserved below a building of the National Bank of Greece (TH29). (ph. by author).

Fig. 128: Remains of part of the ancient Acharnian road in Kotzia square, which led to a gate in the ancient walls (TH29). Left, Aiolou street. (ph. Paris Tavitian).

At first, the state approved the outdoor preservation of sections of the *proteichisma* and the moat with its two retaining walls, but only for those situated to the west side of the ancient Acharnian road. It was decided to dismantle the finds on the eastern side of the road on the condition that after the section of the building occupying the area was constructed, the corresponding antiquities would be restored in the same spot, but at a different height.⁸¹ The permission to begin the building work was issued in 1976, but the construction was interrupted two years later. The Ephorate then took the necessary measures to keep part of the fortification protected until construction works were completed. Meanwhile, part of the then unbuilt plot was allocated as a car park for the staff of the National Bank, a short distance from the area containing the ancient remains.

In 1986, it was found that the exposed ancient remains made it inevitable that their form was being damaged, despite the occasional conservation interventions by the Ephorate.⁸² At an

autopsy in 1993, the situation was found to be out of control,⁸³ and a new round of debates was opened in 1994 following the constant appeals of the Archaeological Service. The terms set by the 3rd Ephorate of Antiquities was not to allow the construction of the first proposed basement, so that all the ancient remains on either side of the passing ancient road along with the natural terrain of Athens could be visible. Emphasis was also placed on the correct repositioning of the stone blocks, on questions of planting, lighting and information signs, which were to be the subject of a special study by the competent authorities.⁸⁴

In 1998, an archaeological cleaning of the old 1974 excavation was carried out in order to draw up a precise topographical plan of the finds.⁸⁵ The great benefit of this second phase was the preservation and display of another part of the fortification which had been discovered in that plot belonging to the Valerian wall. This preserved significant topographic information for Athens of the Classical period: the wall 'may belong to a Late Roman reconstruction, but it is located in the same place as that of the Classical period'.⁸⁶ The architectural solution then applied had the entrance of the building set from Aioulou street, and as a result most of the findings of the fortification can now be seen and studied along the pedestrian street.

92 Adrianou street

The wall discovered at 92 Adrianou street (PH19) in 1998 is kept visible in the open area of a shop and is protected beneath a glass construction.

Aioulou street (pedestrian part)

The *proteichisma* preserved beneath the building of the National Bank (TH29) continues to be visible on the pedestrian street of Aioulou (TH28). The remains of the *proteichisma* are under three pyramidal shelters made of glass and metal (Fig. 127). These interventions on the ancient remains of the area of the Acharnian road have formed an outdoor group of ancient topographic elements, comprising the sites at Kotzia square (the ancient road), the building of the National Bank (gate access, TH29), and the continuation of the *proteichisma* on the pedestrian street of Aioulou

(TH28).

15–17 Mitropoleos street (Electra Metropolis hotel – dining room and outside pavement)

After the interior demolition of the building at 15–17 Mitropoleos street (TH49), a second excavation took place in the early 2010s (for the preservation solution after the first excavation, see p. 287). Accordingly, another ancient structure was added to the archaeological resource of this plot and is now kept under the building now housing the Electra Metropolis hotel. These remains are visible under a glass pavement on Voulis street and inside the bistro of the hotel underneath a glass floor, and they must be connected with the fortification; but the results of the second excavation of the site have not yet been published and the identity of these structures are as yet unconfirmed.

96 Adrianou street (Benizeli mansion, courtyard)

A stretch of the Post-Herulian wall was made accessible to the public in 2017 at 96 Adrianou street (PH22), visible through a glass floor in the main courtyard of the Benizeli mansion. This solution for preserving the wall was included in the architectural reconstruction programme for the Benizeli mansion (1501–1700), a typical example of post-Byzantine architecture (see pp. 294–295 for the protection of the eastern part of the mansion).

5 Expropriation without a protection solution

78 Adrianou street

The remains of the wall discovered in 1968 in the plot at 78 Adrianou street (PH12) belong to those cases where the state decided to expropriate the plot, without applying any concrete solution to their preservation. The area of the excavation is visible from Adrianou street, but it cannot be visited; passers-by can see the remains and can learn about them from an information panel set up within the fenced archaeological area.

14 Krevvata street

The wall discovered at 14 Krevvata street (PH4) also belongs to cases of individual expropriations. The solution was formalised in 1995 in the context of the unification of the archaeological sites of the Agora and the Library of Hadrian, as well as the group expropriation of the sections of the Post-Herulian wall that run between them. Krevvata street no longer exists,⁸⁷ but the plot of the excavation was in the area between Adrianou, Kladou, Vrysakiou and Areos streets, through which the Post-Herulian wall passes, and has been completely expropriated⁸⁸; it has been given over to the Museum of Greek Folk Art, which has undertaken the project of the revival of an old Athenian neighbourhood that existed in Monastiraki from the 17th until the 21st century.

Addendum

Since the first attempts to protect the physical remains of rescue excavations, the ancient wall has occupied a special place in national heritage preservation. Frequently the staff of the Archaeological Service displayed an enthusiastic spirit to preserve its remains – ‘to be visible to the community passing through the stoa 24 hours a day’ –,¹ despite the clearly limited means available at the time. As stated in the discussion held at the Central Archaeological Council regarding the construction of an underground archaeological crypt in Kotzia square, the practice of the Archaeological Service that should be implemented was clear: ‘If the wall is found, there will be no dismantling of physical remains, but changes will have to be made to the architectural study’.²

However, this position did not result from an officially articulated attitude towards the monument. The heterogeneity of these management approaches has often adapted to the specific features of each particular preservation case, such as the technical constraints of the building under construction. The decisions taken have frequently been based on the individual circumstances that occurred at the time these were planned and implemented, but were also influenced by the personality and the insight of the staff undertaking the management of the archaeological site. Perhaps even Stephanos Koumanoudes himself could not have imagined that his reflection – ‘as if there is no other administrative method of bringing together the needs of modern culture with those of the science dealing with antiquity’³ - would remain relevant 137 years later.

This review of the various protection solutions for the walls of Athens also suggests that, despite the fact that it has been preserved in a number of archaeological locations, a large number of its discovered parts remains virtually invisible. Detached in underground and backyard spaces, it no longer contributes to any public benefit. Most Athenians are ignorant of its existence. Even those who know the places where the ancient remains are preserved are often faced with an incomprehensible view of the wall or an erroneous sense of its identity and history. If we wish to

revive the ancient wall from the state of oblivion to which it has fallen, to enhance the boundaries of the ancient city to the public, but also to treat its preservation as a journey through the historical past, its fragmentary presence must be elevated and its entity promoted as a single monument.

The Themistoklean wall surrounds Athens like a historical chain. The regions which it passes through are often associated with specific references in the written sources, and each one has its own involvement in the history of the city. The plotting of the course of the ancient wall onto a map provides the necessary steps for a first approach to the ancient topography of the city. Walking through the city, one can match the path of the wall and the positions of the ancient gateways with today's street addresses. The explorer of the 21st century is able to rely not only on the visible preserved remains, but also on the documented findings of archaeological research which are dealt with in this book. At every step of the walk along the walls, they will have the opportunity to see precisely the boundaries of the ancient city and to understand the evolution of these boundaries from the ancient to early Byzantine period over a course of around 1000 years.

With the historical and archaeological walk of the wall, we have managed, as far as possible, to realize the first step towards a single conception of the monument. The present work is offered as a basis for forming decisive judgments about its fate, which should aim at the complete display of the sections of the monument as parts of a whole. It is up to us to allow the ancient walls to tell their own story.

Catalogue of Sites

The Catalogue contains details of the 181 archaeological sites published in the *Archaiologikon Deltion* and other archaeological journals and monographs, including information on the form and dating of the fortification elements, the bibliographical references, and other relevant points, such as important associated discoveries. These sites are listed as individual reports with a title taken from the current addresses or names of the archaeological sites, and they relate to excavations or locations of the discoveries made by investigators. The preserved building phases of the fortification elements are numbered (1, 2, 3, etc.) and are linked with any corresponding archaeological data that has been dated. For the city wall crossing the Kerameikos, information is drawn from announcements about parts of the excavations or from other relevant books before the recent publication of the Dipylon and the Sacred Gates; the information recorded in the Kerameikos entry (TH1) is based on the recent catalogue of the archaeological site of the Kerameikos by Jutta Stroszeck (2017).

References to the width of the moat relate to the measurements of the original dimensions of its trench; if the measurement is only the revealed width, then that is stated. The given length of a tower matches the corresponding length of the curtain wall, while its width is the amount that projects out from the wall.

The Catalogue uses the following abbreviations referring to the courses of the fortification walls: TH: Themistoklean, V: Valerian, PH: Post-Herulian, DT: *Diateichisma*, MF: Macedonian fort, WP: White Poros wall. Information given within square brackets comprises the comments or supplements of the author.

The amassing of this excavated data is essential for the furthering of archaeological research, so that the monuments can be studied in depth and widely used by the scientific community. The compilation of the Catalogue is a first step in this direction concerning the walls of Athens. The publications of the relevant excavations in the *Archaiologikon Deltion* on which this study was principally based are usually only summary reports or preliminary notes. A full report of the investigated results with the entirety of

the excavations of the wall would require the systematic collection and study of the material preserved in the Archives of notebooks and photographs of the Archaeological Service. The large amount of time that has passed since the main bulk of the excavations were conducted – which falls mainly in the 1960s and 1970s – makes imperative the undertaking of such an effort, particularly as regards the study of movable finds held in archaeological storerooms; the re-examination of the pottery may illuminate unknown aspects of the investigation in terms of chronology, completing the Catalogue with new data for the walls of Athens.

1 The Themistoklean wall

TH1 – KERAMEIKOS (between Ermou, Piraios and Agion Asomaton)

Sources: Pervanoglu (1866); Koumanoudes (1870) 8–11; Koumanoudes (1872) 8–11; Koumanoudes (1873) 15–24; Koumanoudes (1874a) 9–18; Koumanoudes (1876) 13–21; von Alten 1878; Koumanoudes (1880) 7–13; Koumanoudes (1881) 7–8; Mylonas (1890); Noack 1907; Brückner 1931; Gebauer (1940); Kübler (1943); Gruben (1964); Ohly (1965) 360–376; Gruben (1969) 34–36; Gruben (1970); Travlos (1971) 158–159; Knigge (1974); Freytag-Löringhoff (1974); Hoepfner (1976); Knigge (1991); Bardani/Malouchou (1992) 62, no. 283.1; Freytag-Löringhoff (1995); Kuhn (1995); *Kerameikos* XIX; *Kerameikos* XXII. (see Figs. 24, 40–41, 66–67, 79, 96).

Fortification elements: Wall (TH/V) with a NE-SW orientation, gates (Sacred Gate, Dipylon), postern, *proteichisma*, moat, outer retaining walls of moat (in the trench in front of the two outermost *proteichismata*), extramural and intramural ring-roads, two crossing roads (Sacred Way, Kerameikos road).

Dating of wall: 1: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.) / 2: Around 420 B.C. / 3. 394–391 B.C. / 4: After 338 B.C. / 5: Before A.D. 267 / 6. Justinianic (6th c. A.D.).

Dating of Sacred Gate: 1. Themistoklean (478/9 B.C.) / 2. Peloponnesian War (before 420 B.C.) / 3. Around 300 B.C. / 4. Around 290 B.C. / 5. Hellenistic (or 307–304 B.C.) / 6. Before 86 B.C. / 7. End of 4th c. A.D. / 8. Justinianic (6th c. A.D.).

Dating of Dipylon Gate: 1. Themistoklean (478/9 B.C.) / 2. 394

B.C. / 3. 307–304 B.C. / 4. Late Hellenistic – Early Roman.

Dating of postern: S of tower C of Sacred Gate: Around 290 B.C.

Dating of *proteichisma*: In front of the W tower of Dipylon: 1: Around 420 B.C. / 2: Kononian (394 B.C.) / 3: 307–4 B.C.

Dating of moat: 1: 5th c. B.C. (filled in 404 B.C.) / 2: Early 4th c. or 375 B.C. (cleaning) / 3: 338 B.C. / 4: Late 330s B.C.

Dating of extramural/intramural ring-roads: Early 5th to late 4th c. B.C.

Dating of Kerameikos road: Pro-historic to the 6th c. A.D.

Dating of Sacred Way: 5th c. B.C. on (most likely there was a pre-Themistoklean phase of the street).

Composition / Slope of ground: Alluvial soil and fairly level, except in the area of curtain wall 1a, which follows the rising bedrock in steps.

Foundations of wall: Within bedrock cuttings. To the S, the wall ascends the rock, without foundation.

Width of wall: 2.50–3.25 m.

Height of wall: 1.20 m. (socle); ca. 6–10 m. (total).

Height of Dipylon Gate: ca. 9.80 m. (20 courses).

Width of *proteichisma*: Between the Dipylon and the Sacred Gate: 5.80 m.

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill and mud-brick superstructure.

Type of Dipylon Gate: 1–3. Courtyard type with 4 towers / 3. New foundations of towers / 4. A transverse wall with two gates, 3.70 m. wide each, blocked the former exit open to the countryside.

Type of Sacred Gate: 1–4: Courtyard type with 2 towers (C, P) / 5. Tower N replaces tower P – Arched construction over the riverbed – Tower on top / 6. Tower J next to the arch / 7. Solid-block masonry replaces earlier courtyard – Two arched supports over the riverbed / 8. Solid-block masonry, perpendicular to the curtain wall in place of tower C.

Masonry of Dipylon Gate: 1–2: Two faces with inner fill and mud-brick superstructure / 3–4: All-stone base onto remains of predecessor.

Masonry of Sacred Gate: 1–6: Double faced wall with inner fill and mud-brick superstructure / 7–8: Solid-block masonry. Headers and stretchers with *periteneia*.

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Isodomic masonry. Alternating

headers and stretchers.

Building material of wall: 1: Poros funerary stelai and blocks of marble and Piraic Akte limestone in secondary use (two courses) / 2: Polygonal limestone (one course) / 3: Polygonal limestone with *periteneia* and smaller stones between their joints (one course) / 4: Blocks of different origin and treatment in secondary use (two courses) / 5: Material of every kind, coated with mortar / 6. Material of secondary use.

Building material of Sacred Gate: 1. Archaic material in secondary use – Piraic Akte limestone (foundation, E) / 3. Polygonal limestone (socle, tower C) / 4. Piraic Akte limestone (orthostates) – Poros blocks (foundation) / 6. Conglomerate blocks / 7. Various material in secondary use – Tower C: Conglomerate blocks (foundation) and Piraic Akte limestone (superstructure).

Building material of Dipylon Gate: 1. A large number of immured Archaic funerary stelai / 3. Conglomerate core and outer facing of Piraic Akte limestone / 4. Material in secondary use.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Between the Dipylon and the Sacred Gate: 1: Piraic Akte limestone / 3: Conglomerate blocks.

Built-in ancient material: A large number of immured Archaic funerary stelai (Dipylon and Sacred Gate), sculptural and architectural fragments and stones of different sizes from marble and Piraic Akte limestone.

TH2 – 33 AGION ASOMATON AND 21 PSAROMILIGOU (plot)

Sources: Dörpfeld (1894) 529; Tsirigoti-Drakotou (1999); *ΕΥΠΠΟ* (1999) 84.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1894, 1999 / Works for the propping up and renovation of a listed building.

Fortification elements: Wall (1894: TH), *proteichisma*(?) (1999).

Depth of discovery: 3.40 m. (room 3).

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 7.60 m. (room 3) / 1.30 m. (room 3) / 0.40 m. (room 3), 3 courses (room 2).

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Headers and stretchers (room 2); headers (room 3).

Building material of *proteichisma*: Poros (room 2) and conglomerate (room 3) blocks.

Other finds: 1999: Part of a semi-circular construction which had been converted into a well and was linked with other fragmentary remains in a workshop installation (room 2), horseshoe-shaped drain of the 1st c. B.C. (rooms 1 and 2), part of a wall consisting of one conglomerate and one limestone block (room 2).

TH3 – AGION ASOMATON (road)

Sources: Alexandri (1969d) 45; Tsirigoti-Drakotou (2000) 93.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1968 / Opening of a trench by the Public Power Corporation (ΔΕΗ).

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NE-SW orientation.

Dating of wall: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.).

Foundation of wall: On bedrock. Foundation level: 1.30 m.

Width / Height of wall: 3 m. (original) / 0.80 m.

Wall type: Double-faced wall filled with stones and soil.

TH3.1– 24 AGION ASOMATON (plot)

Sources: Servetopoulou (2008).

Year / Reason for excavation: 2008 / Excavation works for the laying of a sewerage pipeline.

Fortification elements: Tower.

Dating of tower: 5th c. A.D.

Depth of discovery: 0.14–0.19 m.

Type of tower: Almost square, embedded into the outer face of the *proteichisma*.

Length / Width / Height of tower: 6.05 m. (N, original) / 5.10 m. (W/E, restored, based on site TH4) / 1.45 m. (E), 0.50 m. (W), 1.20 m. (N).

Thickness of tower wall: 0.85–1.00 m.

Placement of tower: Outside the *proteichisma*, in the area of the moat.

Masonry of tower: The external faces of the walls are built with re-used conglomerate blocks and strong grey plaster binder; bricks are used for filling large gaps. The residual surface of the wall is made of successive layers of rough stones, always bonded with strong mortar.

Building material of tower: Re-used conglomerate blocks

and rough stones.

TH4 – 22 AGION ASOMATON AND 12-14 DIPYLOU (plot)

Sources: *ΕΥΠΠΟ* 1999, 84; Tsirigoti-Drakotou (2000); Tsirigoti-Drakotou (2001–2004a). (see Figs. 80, 119).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1997–2000 / Restoration of two listed buildings and their conversion into a museum.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with an E-W direction, two buttresses, moat, outer retaining wall of the moat, extramural ring-road with traces of wheel-ruts (1.44 m. apart), wall (V: conversion of the *proteichisma*) and a tower.

Dating of wall: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.)

Dating of tower: 5th or 6th c. A.D., by analogy with other towers of the period.

Dating of *proteichisma*: 1: Mid-4th c. B.C. / 2: Late 4th c. B.C. (307–304 B.C., repair phase

during which the buttresses were also probably built) / 3: Conversion into a wall.

Dating of road: 4th c. B.C. with 100 years of use.

Foundation of wall: Onto the *proteichisma*.

Foundation of tower: Investigated to a depth of 4.63 m.
Width of wall: 3.10 m.

Length x width of tower: 5.20 m. (original) x 2 m. (preserved).
Thickness of tower wall: 1.10 m.

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 12 m. (14 Dipylou) + 20 m. (12 Dipylou) / 1.40 m. / 5.60 m. (13 courses).

Width of moat: 9 m.

Length of moat retaining wall: 19 m.

Placement of tower: Outside the *proteichisma*, in the area of the moat.

Masonry of tower: Mortared rubble.

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Careful construction; alternating courses of headers and stretchers.

Building material of wall: The outer face of the Valerian wall was the same as the *proteichisma*. The inner face was a new wall that had infringed the extramural ring-road after the 4th c. B.C., built with conglomerate stones in secondary use, possibly coming from the material of the *proteichisma* buttresses. The core of the

wall was filled with a variety of building materials, stones, tiles, and large marble architectural members. Binding material: solid, hard, grey lime mortar.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate and limestone blocks.

Building material of moat retaining wall: Large blocks and smaller irregular stones and soil.

Built-in ancient material: Parts of an epistyle, marble orthostates and a casualty list of the 5th c. B.C. (part of a funerary monument of the Demosion Sema).

Contents of moat fill: carbonised wood, ashes, stones, tiles, mortar, animal bone, and large amounts of sherds. Eight tile graves of the 1st – 2nd c. A.D., the majority without goods.

TH5 – 15 DIPYLOU AND LEOKORIOU (road, south)

Sources: Alexandri (1969d); Travlos (1960) 124, n. 1; Schilardi (1968) 36.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1968 / Opening of a trench by the Public Power Corporation (ΔΕΗ).

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NE-SW orientation, gate tower (π1), moat, tower (π2) [doubtful identification due to small dimensions (3 x 3 m.)]; indications of the existence of a gate.

Dating of wall: End of the 4th c. B.C.

Dating of tower: π1: 1: 1st half of the 4th c. B.C. / 2: End of the 4th c. B.C. π2: Late Roman [doubtful dating; it was found on the Themistoklean line and not the Valerian].

Foundation of wall / towers: On bedrock. Foundation level: 0.80 m. / π1: 1.50 m., π2: 2 m.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 0.80 m. / 4.50 m. (original) / 1 course.

Length / Width / Height of tower: π1: 6 m. / 6 m. / 1: 2 courses / 2: 1 course. π2: 3 m. / 3 m. / 1.80 m. (restored length and width).

Length / Depth of the ditch: 6 m. / 2.50 m. (revealed).

Type of wall: [All-stone base, on new foundations].

Type of tower: π1: Square, bonded to the wall.

Masonry of tower: π1: 1: the two lower courses bore *anathyrosis*.

Building material of wall: Conglomerate stones.

Building material of towers: π1: 1: Poros blocks (1st, 2nd courses) / 2: Conglomerate blocks (3rd course). π2: material in secondary use. Binding material: hard mortar.

Contents of moat fill: Dissolved organic residues, building material, broken pottery.

Other finds: A Classical construction of dressed poros blocks of the 4th c. B.C., 2 courses in height (N of π2). Another construction of the Late Roman period with earlier building materials (N of the Classical construction); Kyparissis had identified this in 1929 as part of the wall (see below at site TH7). An Athenian bronze coin was collected (2nd – 1st c. B.C), and three lamps of the middle of the 1st c. A.D. (*Agora* VII, pl. 12, no. 418; *Agora* VII, pl. 4, no. 85).

TH6 – 42 LEOKORIOU (plot)

Sources: Banou (2013) 288.

Year / Reason for excavation: 2008–2009 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NE-SW orientation, crossing road. References to potential remains of a gate.

Dating of road: 5th – 3rd c. B.C.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 3.50 m. / 0.80 m. / 1.7 m. (4 courses).

Building material of (?)gate: Conglomerate stones.

Other finds: Anthemion crowning of a funerary stele.

TH7 – 15 DIPYLOU AND LEOKORIOU (road, north)

Sources: Kyparissis (1927–1928a); Schilardi (1968) 36.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1928–1929 / Opening of a trench by the Hellenic Water Company (OYΛEN).

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with a NE-SW orientation. [For the negation of this identification, see site TH5: 'Other finds'].

Dating of wall: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.).

Building material of wall: A large amount of architectural members taken from the northern cemetery of the ancient city.

Built-in ancient material: Inscribed marbles originating from the nearby cemetery that date from 500 B.C. to the Imperial period.

TH8 – 13 DIPYLOU (road)

Sources: Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 9 (14-3-1949).

Year of excavation: 1949.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NE-SW orientation.

Depth of discovery: 0.40 m.

Foundation level of *proteichisma*: 1.56 m.

TH9 – 11 DIPYLOU (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1969c); Travlos (1971) 159; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 9. (see Figs. 45–46).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1968 / Foundations of a new building.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NE-SW orientation, *proteichisma*, extramural ring-road.

Dating of wall: [1: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.), see the sketch of poros blocks in secondary use in the foundation course drawn in a letter of Schilardi to Travlos, 1-4-1968, p. 4, Travlos Archive] / 2: 2nd half of the 4th c. B.C. / 3: Repair at the end of the 4th c. B.C.

Foundation of wall: The foundation course was laid in a bedrock cutting (foundation level: 1.55–1.60 m.).

Length / Width / Height of wall: 11.75 m. / 3.35 m. (original) / 1.40 m. (1: 1 course / 2: 2 courses).

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 7.50 m.

Type of wall: 1: [All-stone base] / 2: [All-stone base laid above the previous one].

Masonry of wall: 1: [headers] / 2: Isodomic masonry. Alternating headers and stretchers. At the height of the third course, cuttings were noticed at two points which ran through the whole thickness of the wall for drainage channels.

Building material of wall: 1: Poros blocks in secondary use (1st course with *anathyrosis* on the narrow side / 2: Conglomerate blocks (2nd, 3rd upper courses).

Other finds: Two drains, total height 0.80 m. and later than the wall, were built into bedrock (foundation level: 3.10 m) (between the wall and the *proteichisma*) consisting of two semi-circular parts. Athenian bronze coin of the 3rd c. B.C., 10 Hellenistic unguentaria, two small phialai, a kantharos, plate, two miniature

skyphoi, a lekaneis, and 9 lamps.

TH10 – 5-7-9 DIPYLOU (plot)

Sources: Spathari (1980); Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ8, Notes from an autopsy visit by KAS, 4-6-1980. (see Figs. 59-61, 117).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1979-1980 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NE-SW orientation, moat, extramural and intramural ring-roads along with the retaining wall of the latter. No trace of the *proteichisma* was found.

Dating of wall: 1: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.) / 2: Kononian (394 B.C.) / 3: Hellenistic (297 B.C.).

Dating of moat: 1: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.) / 2: 338 B.C.

Dating of extramural road: Early 5th – beginning of the 3rd c. B.C.

Preservation status on excavation: A large part of stone fill of the wall was destroyed in the 1st c. B.C.

Ground slope: E-W.

Depth of finds: 0.04 m.

Foundation of wall: Above a layer of fine earth covered with gravel, perhaps remains of an Archaic road surface. Foundation level: 2.60 m. Core: 1-2 layers of stones directly on the bedrock.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 25 m. / 3 m. (original) / 2: 0.75 m. / 3: 2.10 m. (2-5 courses).

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 8 m.

Type of wall: Double-faced wall.

Masonry of wall: 2: Polygonal or irregular trapezoidal [Filling of gaps of joints with plugs] / 3: Isodomic [stretchers].

Building material of wall: 1: [Poros blocks in secondary use] / 2: Limestone and poros blocks / 3: conglomerate blocks.

Built-in ancient material: Part of an Archaic stele.

Other finds: Early Hellenistic drain, Roman buildings (inside the wall line), Late Roman deposits.

TH11 – 3 DIPYLOU (plot)

Sources: Spathari (1982a).

Year of excavation: 1982

Fortification elements: Moat with a NE-SW orientation.

Dating of moat: 4th c. B.C. (bedrock was not reached at a depth of 5 m.). First filled in the 3rd c. B.C., and continued in use after Sulla's invasion (87/6 B.C.) from the 1st c. B.C. until the 2nd c. A.D.

Other finds: A wall founded at a depth of 4.35 m. from the road surface, built parallel to the wall from rough stones and clay, length 1.5, width 0.45, height 0.60 m. (within the trench of the moat and above the fill of the 3rd c. B.C.).

TH12 – 16 ELEFThERIAS (KOUMOUNDOUROU) SQUARE AND KRIEZI (plot)

Sources: Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 9.

Year of excavation: 1967.

Fortification elements: Moat with a NE-SW orientation.

TH13 – ELEFThERIAS (KOUMOUNDOUROU) SQUARE AND KRANAOU (road)

Sources: Tsigirigoti-Drakotou (2001–2004b).

Year / Reason for excavation: 2003 / Works of the Unification of the Archaeological Sites of Athens (EAXA).

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma*, wall (V: conversion of the *proteichisma*) with an E-W orientation, moat.

Dating of wall: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.).

Depth of discovery: 1.10 m.

Length / Width of *proteichisma*: 3 m. / 2.10 m. (original).

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Two series of squared blocks.

Masonry of wall: Smaller unworked stones and tile, connected with a hard grey lime mortar.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate squared blocks.

Composition of moat fill: A rectangular inscribed stone was found. The fill reached a depth of about 2–2.50 m., where the excavation stopped.

Other finds: Probably, a grave peribolos, depth 5.50 m.

TH14 – 91 EVRIPIDOU AND 10 SACHTOURI (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1972d).

Year of excavation: 1970.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NE-SW orientation, probable steps (because of a change of width in the wall), intramural ring-road.

Dating of wall: Hellenistic.

Dating of road: From the 4th c. B.C. until the Roman period (a pithos burial).

Ground slope: To the W.

Foundation of wall: On bedrock. Foundation level: 3 m.

Length / Height of wall: 5.50 + 2.50 m. (restored 11 m.) / 0.76–0.40 m. (at the corresponding parts of the length) (2 courses).

Type of wall: Double-faced wall filled with rough stones, stone chips, and fragments of architectural members.

Masonry of wall: Small plugs filling the gaps between the 'polygonal' conglomerate blocks.

Building material of wall: Conglomerate.

Built-in ancient material: A mixture of marble architectural members and fragments of sculptures (core).

Other finds: A Roman pithos burial was found above the surface of the inner road and at a distance of 6.30 m. from the inner face of the wall, which put the road out of use. A drain crossed the same road along its length, set in a trench almost parallel with the wall and at a distance of 0.80 m. from its E side.

TH15 – 87 EVRIPIDOU (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1972c).

Year of excavation: 1971.

Fortification elements: Intramural ring-road with a NE-SW orientation.

Level of bedrock: 2.30 m.

Other finds: Two clay drains in the shape of an inverted Π (beneath the road). A wall of a building founded above the road, built of rough stones and clay and with an E-W orientation (at the NE corner of the plot).

TH16 – 90 EVRIPIDOU (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1976b).

Year of excavation: 1976.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NE-SW orientation, moat, transverse retaining wall of the moat; probable existence of a gate.

Level of foundation of moat retaining wall: 9.25 m.

Foundation of *proteichisma*: On bedrock (level: 7 m.).

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 5 m. / 1.25 m. (original) / 3.80 m. (10 courses).

Width / Depth of moat: 10.20 m. / 5 m. (bottom).

Height of moat retaining wall: 9 courses.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate.

Other finds: Part of a Roman cistern from rough and dressed stones and lime mortar, dimensions 2 × 4 m. (between wall and *proteichisma*). Remains of another rectangular Roman construction of older building materials (marble threshold, part of a geison), dimensions 3.60 × 2.35 m., height 0.55 m. Group of Late Roman and Early Byzantine graves, two cist graves and three pit graves (S and SE of the *proteichisma*). The moat contained Hellenistic sherds and a black-glazed kantharos of the 4th c. B.C.

TH17 – 7–9 SAPPHOUS (plot)

Sources: Koumanoudes (1956); DEAM Archive, Box 769.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1948 / Construction of a building of the General Warehouse Company of Greece.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NW-SE and NE-SW direction, moat.

Dating of *proteichisma*: 2nd half of the 4th c. B.C.

Composition of the ground: Abundant rising water. Six wells were found.

Depth of discovery: 5 m.

Width of *proteichisma*: 1.10–2.10 m.

Type of *proteichisma*: Along its E section the *proteichisma* was widened and had a total width of 2.10 m. The need for the enhanced width was attributed to the loose soil composition.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Large rectangular stones, largest length 1.30 m.

Other finds: A Roman drain with a circular cross-section, at a depth of 9–10 m.

TH18 – 5 SAPPHOUS (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1969g); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 4N-155, 4.

Year of excavation: 1968.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NE-SW orientation, intramural ring-road.

Dating of wall: 1: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.) / 2. End of the 4th c. B.C.

Preservation status on excavation: The continuation of the wall to the W was destroyed in Hellenistic times.

Foundation of wall: On bedrock (level: 4.60 m.)

Width of wall: 2: 4 m.

Height of wall: 1: 2 m. / 2: 1 course.

Type of wall: 1: Double-faced wall with inner fill / 2: [All-stone base onto remains of its predecessor?].

Masonry of wall: Polygonal towards irregular trapezoidal. The outer surfaces of the stones were sometimes roughly worked and sometimes smoothed. The gaps between the blocks of the faces were filled with triangular plugs / 2. Stretchers.

Building material of wall: 1. Poros and Acropolis limestone blocks ('like the wall at 25 Erechtheiou', see note of Travlos). 2. Conglomerate.

Built-in ancient material: Parts of a marble base of a sphinx statue from the crowning of a funerary stele of the 1st quarter of the 6th c. B.C.

Other finds: Retaining wall built with small stones and clay, height 0.25 m., later than the wall and in parallel with it to the S, at a distance of 1.80 m. It was founded in soil at a depth of 2.10 m. and crossed the whole length of the plot [It may be the retaining wall of the intramural ring-road which crossed S of the wall]. Two lamps, one of the 3rd quarter of the 3rd – late 2nd c. B.C. (*Agora IV*, type 48A), the other of the late 4th – early 3rd c. B.C. (*Agora IV*, 25B), miniature bronze Herm stele, and an Athenian bronze coin of the 3rd c. B.C.

TH19 – 2 SAPPHOUS AND MENANDROU (plot)

Sources: Threpsiades (1950) 72–74; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 13b.

Year of excavation: 1950.

Fortification elements: Tower, *proteichisma* with a NE-SW orientation.

Type of tower: [All-stone base upon new foundations].

Masonry of *proteichisma*: [Isodomic. Headers and stretchers].

TH20 – THEATROU SQUARE

Sources: Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 13b; Koumanoudes (1956).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1948 / Construction of a building for the Diplarios School.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NE-SW orientation.

Length / Width of the wall: 9.80 m. / 3 m.

TH21 – 17 SOKRATOUS (plot)

Sources: Kokkoliou (1998b); Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/3.

Year/ Reason for excavation: 1998 / Restoration of a listed building.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with an E-W orientation, *proteichisma*, moat.

Dating of wall: Kononian (394 B.C.).

Depth of discovery: 0.50 m. (wall), 1.64 m. (*proteichisma*).

Foundation of wall: On bedrock. Level of foundation: 0.90 m.

Foundation of *proteichisma*: Within bedrock, cut to the S part (cutting width: ca. 0.30 m., bedrock depth: 2.44 m.). Level of foundation: 3.56 m.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 2.60 m. / 0.10–0.25 m. (visible) / 0.40 m. (1 course).

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 5.10 m.

Length / Width of *proteichisma*: 11.20 m. / 0.60 m.

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Headers and stretchers. Around the middle of the preserved section of *proteichisma*, above the substructure of rectangular limestone blocks, height 1.20 m., dressed limestone blocks or rough stones were assembled with great care.

Building material of wall: Reddish conglomerate.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Mainly reddish conglomerate, yellowish poros at points in the foundation, and

limestone. Smaller stones of bedrock of limestone.

Other finds: Part of a cemetery dating from the 2nd to the 6th c. A.D., parts of the foundations of a Late Roman structure (N and S of the *proteichisma*), three drains and an Ottoman cistern. An undated stone-built wall founded on bedrock (E of the cistern). Ceramics from the 1st – early 3rd c. A.D were collected from the fill of the moat. The strata contained much bone.

TH22 – 17 SOKRATOUS (road)

Sources: Kokkoliou (1998a).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1998 / Excavation works for the laying of a sewerage pipeline.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with an E-W orientation.

Composition of soil: The *proteichisma* was founded within very loose soil of chestnut colour.

Depth of discovery: 1.02 m.

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 0.95 m. / 0.48 m. / 2 courses.

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Headers and stretchers.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate.

TH23 – 10 SOKRATOUS AND 33 SOPHOKLEOUS (plot)

Sources: Andreiomenou (1966e); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 13c; Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/1.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1965 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* (E, W) with an E-W orientation, moat.

Preservation status on excavation: The *proteichisma* was found destroyed in the middle of the plot.

Composition of ground: Hard bedrock.

Depth of discovery: E: 1.10 m., W: 0.55 m.

Foundation of *proteichisma*: Within bedrock cuttings. The construction follows the natural slope of the ground; at the highest point there were four courses, while the lowest was completed with additional courses.

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: E: 3.40 m., W: 0.90

m. (see Archive of the Third EPKA) / E: 1.35 m. (Archive of the Third EPKA) / E: 2.88 m., W: 1.33 m. (Archive of the Third EPKA) (7 courses [E], 3 courses [W]).

Depth of moat: 2.70 m. (revealed).

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Alternating headers and stretchers.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate.

Composition of moat soil: Roman sherds were collected (Archive of the Third EPKA).

Other finds: Two Early Christian graves (above the E *proteichisma*), traces of two tile graves (above the W *proteichisma*).

TH24 – 29–31 SOPHOKLEOUS (plot)

Sources: KAS Archive, Act 9/25-2-1978; Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/2.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1977 / Demolition of an old house for the construction of a building.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with an E-W orientation (the stretch of curtain wall had not been preserved).

Level of bedrock: The foundation level of the wall was identical to the level of the contemporary road (probably the reason for the absence of any wall remains).

Foundation of *proteichisma*: In the bottom of the moat. Foundation level: 5.60 m.

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 9 m.

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 8 m. / 1.40–1.80 m. / 9 courses.

Depth of moat: 5.60 m.

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Isodomic. The *proteichisma* had been constructed as a revetment of the bedrock.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate.

TH25 – 23 SOPHOKLEOUS AND ATHINAS (road)

Sources: Kyparissis (1927–1928a) 56; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 13a (21-2-1961).

Year of excavation: 1928.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NW-SE orientation.

TH26 – 48 ATHINAS AND SOPHOKLEOUS (plot)

Sources: Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 13a.

Year of excavation: 1961.

Fortification elements: Moat with a NW-SE orientation.

Level of bedrock: 2 m.

Width / Depth of moat: 12 m. / 5 m. (bottom).

Contents of the moat fill: Conglomerate stones, bones.

TH27 – 93 AIOLOU AND SOPHOKLEOUS (Melas Mansion)

Sources: Burnouf (1877) 128.

Year of discovery: 1872.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with an E-W orientation.

Depth of discovery: 2 m.

Other finds: A Submycenaean grave.

TH28 – 93 AIOLOU AND SOPHOKLEOUS (pedestrian street)

Sources: Third Archaeological Region of Athens (1963) 33–35; Alexandri (1975a); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 13c; Zachariadou (2001–2004) (see Fig. 127).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1962 / Opening of a trench for drainage works (ΥΔΡΕΞ). 1975 / Opening of a trench by the Hellenic Telecommunications Organization (OTE). 2004 / Works for pedestrianisation by the Unification of the Archaeological Sites of Athens (EAXA).

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with an E-W orientation, extramural ring-road, *proteichisma*, moat, outer retaining wall of the moat, second extramural ring-road outside moat.

Preservation status on excavation: Fragmentary because of many modern interventions by the dense network of public utility channels.

Depth of discovery: 1975: 1 m. (wall). 2004: 0.40 m. (*proteichisma*), 1.42–1.72 m. (retaining wall of moat).

Foundation of the wall / *proteichisma*: On bedrock.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 2004: 4.10 / 0.40–0.56 m. / 1 course.

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 1975: 9 m.

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 2004: 3.38 m. /

1962: 1.35 m. (original) / 2004: 1.30–2.20 m. / (1975: 2–3 courses, 2004: 5 courses).

Moat width: 1975: 9.70 m. / 2004: 9.91–10.12 m.

Length / Thickness of moat retaining wall: 2004: 3.77 m. / 0.50 m.

Building material of wall: 1975: Poros. 2004: Three limestone blocks.

Building material of *proteichisma*: 1962: Poros, 1975 / 2004: Conglomerate.

Building material of moat retaining wall: 1975 / 2004: Conglomerate.

Masonry of moat retaining wall: 2004: Stretchers.

Contents of moat fill: Workshop strata, Late Roman rectangular built cistern, clay Π-shaped drain.

Other finds: 1975: A terracotta drain within the bedrock, 3.40 m. from the wall, with an E-W direction and a depth of 1.22 m.

TH29 – 82–84 AIOLOU AND SOPHOKLEOUS (National Bank of Greece)

Sources: *Parnassos* (1877); Travlos (1971) 159; Alexandri (1973–1974a); Alexandri (1976d);

Lyngouri-Tolia (1999); Lyngouri-Tolia (2001–2004); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 13c. (see Figs. 83, 127).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1877 / Foundations for a building next to the house of Anargyros Petrakis, first mayor of the Municipality of Athens (NE corner of Aioulou and Sophokleous streets). 1974 / Construction of a new administrative building of the National Bank of Greece. 1998–1999 / Archaeological cleaning works toward the display of the finds to the public.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH, V) with an E-W and NW-SE orientation, *proteichisma*, moat, three retaining walls of the moat/road, two roads (extramural ring-road, second extramural ring-road outside moat), crossing road with wheel ruts 1.45 m. apart.

Dating of wall: 1: 1998–1999: Classical / 2: 1974: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.).

Dating of moat: 1974: The moat was covered with fill after the 1st c. A.D. 1998–1999: 4th c. B.C.

Dating of road: 1998–1999: Crossing road: 1st half 5th c. B.C. (after the construction of the Themistoklean wall) – 2nd half 3rd c.

A.D.

Foundation of wall: 2 (V): On bedrock. Foundation level: 1.20 m.

Foundation of *proteichisma*: On bedrock. Foundation level: 2.10 m. (E).

Foundation of moat retaining wall: At the bottom of the moat, at a depth of 6.40 or 3.50 m (E).

Foundation of road retaining wall: On bedrock. Foundation level: 3.50 m. (E).

Length / Width / Height of wall: 2 (V): 7 m. / 3 m. (original) / 0.75 m.

Height of *proteichisma*: 1 course (E), 5 courses (W).

Height of road retaining wall: 6 courses (E), 7 courses (W).

Width / Depth of moat: 10 m. / 6.15 m. (bottom).

Height of moat retaining wall: 11 courses (W).

Type of gate: Access to gateway formed by a transverse road founded on a bridge of land that separates two trenches of the moat.

Superstructure of *proteichisma*: Four prism-shaped poros crownings (after the collapse of the *proteichisma* into the E moat).

Masonry of *proteichisma* / moat retaining wall: [Isodomic. Alternating headers and stretchers].

Building material of wall: 2 (V): Mixed material, often in secondary use. Binding material: mortar.

Building material of *proteichisma* / moat retaining wall: Poros blocks [Conglomerate].

Built-in ancient material: 1998–1999: Part of an Archaic marble funerary stele with a relief of a naked rider.

Contents of moat fill: 1974: Six dressed poros blocks from the fallen *proteichisma* were found in the fill of the E trench of the moat; lamps from the 4th c. B.C., of the Hellenistic period, and of the late 1st c. B.C – 1st c. A.D., lid of a pyxis, a kantharos, small phiale, small lekythos, feeding bottle, unguentaria, a marble female headless statuette, stamped handles and spindle whorls. From the W trench of the moat: loom weights, stamped handles, lamps from the Hellenistic period and from the 1st c. B.C. to the 1st c. A.D., a bronze coin, an oenochoe, kantharos, unguentaria, prochous, amphoriskos, the lower half of a terracotta figurine of Athena, and a marble funerary monument.

Other finds: 1974: Four drainage channels cut into bedrock extending along the width of the transverse road to the gate. Two

wells were built above the fill of the W trench of the moat after the 1st c. A.D. Remains of a Late Roman cistern and parts of four clay drains were discovered W of the Valerian wall. Part of a stone channel was embedded into the Valerian wall and parts of other drains were found in the area from where the intramural ring-road passed. Terracotta pot stands, loom weights, part of an anthemion antefix, stamped handles, and lamps of the late 1st c. B.C. – 1st c. A.D. were collected from the area of the *proteichisma*. In the foundation of the contemporary wall: an unguentarium, a kotyle, brazier lug, and stamped handles. Built into the foundation of a later construction: funerary kioniskoi, part of a Corinthian capital, a fragment of a cyma, parts of an Ionic column base, fragments of folds of a statue, and part of a fluted column.

TH30 – 6 SOPHOKLEOUS (National Bank of Greece)

Sources: Kyparissis (1927–1928b).

Year of excavation: 1929–1930 / Construction of a building for the National Bank.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH/V) with a NW-SE orientation, tower.

Built-in ancient material: A large inscribed square statue base in Eleusinian marble.

TH31 – 14 ARISTEIDOU AND PESMAZOGLOU (road)

Sources: Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou (1978a); Kokkoliou (1997c).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1978, 1997 / Works for the installation of new electrical networks.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NW-SE orientation (1997), extramural ring-road (1978).

Depth of discovery: 1978: 3 m. 1997: 2.80 m.

Level of bedrock: 1978: 6.30 m.

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 0.50 m. / 0.60 m. / 0.60 m.

Other finds: 1997: A conglomerate block, preserved length 0.50 m., width 0.62 m., at a depth of 3 m., founded in bedrock on a N-NW to S-SE orientation (E and at a distance of 5.20 m. from the

proteichisma).

TH32 – 14 ARISTEIDOU AND PESMAZOGLOU (plot)

Sources: Dörpfeld (1892) 449–450; Photographic Archive of the German Archaeological Institute, no. A.B. 57, 58; Travlos (1940); Judeich (1931²) 134; Alexandri (1967a); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 4–5; ΔEAM Archive, Box 639. (see Figs. 25, 77, 114).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1892 / Chance discovery of the wall in the western part of the plot. 1937–1938 / Demolition of the Deposits and Loans Fund building. 1966 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NW-SE orientation, *proteichisma*, extramural ring-road, moat.

Dating of wall: 1892: 4th c. B.C. or later. 1937: 2nd half of 4th c. B.C. or a little earlier. 1966: 2nd half of 4th c. B.C.

Dating of *proteichisma*: 1937, 1966: 2nd half of 4th c. B.C.

Dating of moat: 1937: 2nd half of 4th c. B.C.

Foundations of wall: 1966: within bedrock cuttings.

Foundations of *proteichisma*: 1965: within bedrock cuttings, 7.75 m. deeper than the wall, forming a revetment.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 1966: 18 m. / 1892: 5 m. (foundation)–4.90 m. (upper part) / 1966: 2.96 m. (1937: 9 courses, 1965: 7 courses).

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 1892: ca. 7 m. 1966: 8.30 m.

Length / Width of *proteichisma*: 1966: 7.70 m. / 1937: 1.30 m. 1966: 1.30–1.40 m. (1965: 5–6 courses).

Width / Depth of moat: 1937: 10 m. / 4 m.

Type of wall: All-stone base on new foundations.

Masonry of wall: Isodomic. Alternating headers and stretchers.

Building material of wall: 1892, 1937: Conglomerate. 1966: Poros and conglomerate.

Building material of *proteichisma*: 1937: Conglomerate.

Other finds: A drain cut into bedrock and parallel with the wall (between wall and *proteichisma*). Ceramics from the Geometric to Hellenistic periods.

TH33 – 10–12 ARISTEIDOU (plot)

Sources: Vanderpool (1957) 281–282; Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/2, Φ1/10A/ΓΕΝΙΚΑ/29-6-1978; KAS Archive, Act 40/15-11-1956. (see Fig. 110).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1956 / Works for demolition of old buildings.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NW-SE orientation, *proteichisma*.

Other finds: Parts of several houses of Late antiquity were uncovered; they were separated from the city wall by an open space about two metres wide.

TH34 – 29 STADIOU (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1975c).

Year of excavation: 1975.

Fortification elements: Moat, retaining wall of the moat with a NW-SE orientation.

Foundation of moat retaining wall: At the bottom of the moat. Foundation level: 5 m.

Width / Depth of moat: 7 m. (revealed) / 5 m. (bottom).

Length / Height of moat retaining wall: 6.50 m. / 3 courses.

Building material of moat retaining wall: Conglomerate (mainly).

Other finds: Circular well cut into bedrock, diam. 2.20 m., two drains.

TH35 – 6 DRAGATSANIOU (plot)

Sources: Rousopoulos (1873); Lüders (1873), 258–259; Philios (1903) 45; Judeich (1931²) 129, n. 3; Vanderpool (1958) 321; Travlos (1960) 75, n. 1; Travlos (1971) 159; Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/2; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 8. (see Figs. 111–112).

Year / Reason for identification/excavation: 1872 / Construction of the Leon Melas house. 1957 / Construction of an office building.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NW-SE orientation, steps, *proteichisma*, moat, retaining wall of moat; probably existence of a gate.

Dating of wall: 1: After the battle of Olynthos, 348 B.C. (see

Travlos (1960) 75) or 2nd half of 4th c. B.C. (see Archive of the Third EPKA) / 2: Haseki wall (E part). [1872: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.) (see Rousopoulos), later than the Themistoklean phase (see Philios)].

Foundation of wall: On bedrock.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 1872: 20–30 m. 1957: 45 m. / 4.48 m. (W), 6.85 m. (E, together with the steps) / 4.50 m. (W), 2.50 m. (E) [9 courses (W), 4–5 courses (E)].

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 9.40 m.

Width of *proteichisma*: 2.17 m.

Type of wall: All-stone base on new foundations.

Masonry of wall: Isodomic. Headers and stretchers, alternating in layers.

Building material of wall: 1872: Piraic Akte stone and marble in secondary use. 1957: Conglomerate.

Built-in ancient material: 1872: A funerary stele.

Other finds: 1872: Graves of various orientations and kioniskoi NE of the Melas house foundations. The E face of the wall was probably 'added after the Frankish-Ottoman building and cistern' (Rousopoulos). 1957: Parts of houses at the SW corner of the widened part of the wall (Archive of the Third EPKA, 130/12-10-1957), perhaps from Late Antiquity; see Travlos (1960) 116, n. 1. A few black-glazed sherds of the 2nd half of 4th c. B.C.

TH36 – 6 DRAGATANIOU (road)

Sources: Alexandri (1973–1974e); Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/3; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 8.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1974 / Extension of the Municipality of Athens excavations for the building of an underground car park in Klafthmonos square.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NW-SE orientation, moat.

Level of bedrock / *proteichisma*: 1.80 m.

Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 1.50–1.70 m. (original) / 2 courses.

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Isodomic.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate.

Contents of moat fill: Fragments of pottery and sculptures, an inscribed funerary kioniskos, and a marble funerary

loutrophoros with vertical grooves on the body.

TH37 – KLAFTHMONOS SQUARE

Sources: Alexandri (1973–1974d); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 7–8; Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/3. (see Figs. 81, 116, 121).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1971–1974 / Construction of an underground car park.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NW-SE orientation, tower, *proteichisma*, extramural and intramural ring-roads, moat.

Dating of moat fill: From the 1st c. B.C. – 1st c. A.D.

Ground slope: Strong NW-SE slope.

Level of bedrock: 1–7 m.

Foundations of wall: On bedrock.

Foundations of *proteichisma*: Within bedrock cuttings.

Foundation level: 5.50–8 m.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 24 (NW) + 40 m. (SE) / 4.50 m. (original) / [1–2 courses (NW), 5–6 courses (SE)].

Length x Width of tower: 8.50 x 4.80 m. (original).

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 6.50 m.

Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 1.50 m. (original) / 1–4 courses (NW), 7–8 courses (SE).

Width / Depth of moat: 10 m. / 11 m. (bottom)

Type of wall: [All-stone base on new foundations].

Type of tower: Rectangular, embedded into the outer face of the wall [Isodomic. All-stone base].

Masonry of wall / *proteichisma*: Isodomic [headers and stretchers].

Masonry of tower: Alternating headers and stretchers.

Building material of wall: Conglomerate (and poros, see Archive of the Third EPKA, document 11206/20-5-1971).

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate.

Contents of moat fill: Many fragments of pottery, lamps, and tiles, parts of marble funerary reliefs.

Other finds: A draining channel, 1 x 1.26 m., of dressed and rough stones within a rectangular cutting in the bedrock, perpendicular to the *proteichisma* and leading out into the moat. Two draining channels at the E side of the moat (Stadiou street). Part of an undated chamber tomb, cut into bedrock, between wall

and *proteichisma* (Dragatsaniou street). During the Late Roman period, the moat was filled in and used as a cemetery (18 graves). A tower of the Haskei wall was found within the area of the moat and above the continuation of the drain.

TH38 – 5–7 PAPARRIGOPOULOU (Museum of the City of Athens, old Vouros house)

Sources: Alexandri (1975b).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1975 / Building of an underground space of the Vouros house.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NW-SE orientation, moat.

Ground slope: The bedrock was soft and there was a strong downward slope to the NE because of the existence of the moat, while it was higher towards the SW of the *proteichisma*.

Foundations of *proteichisma*: On bedrock. Foundation level: 1.80 m.

Length / Height of *proteichisma*: 2.80 m. / 1 course.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate.

Contents of moat fill: Child pit grave beneath tiles of the Roman period.

TH39 – 5–7 CHRISTOU LADA (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1968h).

Year of excavation: 1967.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NW-SE orientation, moat, (the wall was found completely destroyed).

Dating of moat fill: The moat and the *proteichisma* were covered during the 1st c. A.D.

Foundations of *proteichisma*: Within bedrock cuttings.

Length / Height of *proteichisma*: 6.50 m. / 0.45 m.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate.

Other finds: A terracotta drain, half of a built circular cistern, two tile graves (in the fill above the moat and *proteichisma*).

TH40 – CHRISTOU LADA AND ANTHIMOU GAZI (road)

Sources: Third Archaeological Region of Athens (1963) 37; Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou (1978dc); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 12.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1962 / Opening of a draining trench (ΥΔΡΕΞ). 1978 / Opening of a trench by the Public Power Corporation (ΔΕΗ).

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NW-SE orientation, moat.

Preservation status on excavation: 1962: Parts of the *proteichisma* had been destroyed by later drains.

Foundations of *proteichisma*: 1978: On bedrock. Foundation level: 1.40 m.

Masonry of *proteichisma*: 1978: Two stretchers.

Contents of moat fill: 1962: Fragments of undecorated pointed amphorae.

TH41 – 3 KOLOKOTRONI (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1972e).

Year of excavation: 1970.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH, only cuttings of the foundation trench) with a NE-SW orientation, *proteichisma* (cuttings), moat.

Dating of moat fill: Fill of the 1st c. A.D.

Composition / slope of ground: The bedrock almost reached the modern road surface.

Foundations of wall / *proteichisma*: Within bedrock cuttings.

Length / Width / Depth of moat: 12.10 m. / 3.75 (N)–7.65 m. (S) (revealed) / 7 m. (bottom) [or 7.60 m. in the section drawing].

Contents of moat fill: A large amount of pottery and tile fragments and a small number of conglomerate blocks, probably from the *proteichisma*.

Other finds: A marble funerary kioniskos.

TH42 – 7 VOULIS (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1972a); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder A-147, 14.

Year of excavation: 1970.

Fortification elements: Wall with a NE-SW orientation (TH,

only cuttings of the foundation trenches), *proteichisma* (cuttings), moat.

Dating of moat fill: 2nd c. A.D.

Composition / Ground slope: The bedrock reached almost to the modern road surface / Gently to E.

Foundations of wall: Obn bedrock.

Foundations of *proteichisma*: Within bedrock cuttings.

Width of wall: 3.50 m. (from the cuttings).

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 8.50–9 m.

Width / Depth of moat: 11.50 m. / 4 m. (bottom)

Contents of moat fill: Fragments of pottery and tile, and part of a marble column.

Other finds: Three graves of the 5th c. B.C. A channel which drained into the moat, width. 0.40 m. and height 0.30 m., along the length of its E side. Part of an ancient aqueduct, inside the wall line: a terracotta channel, length 27 m., oval in section, cut into bedrock (height 1.90 m., diam. 0.60 m.), a new channel followed the disuse of the first, of terracotta joined sections, inverted Π in section. There followed an obstruction of this channel and the construction of a new groove. A cleaning hole and a drain, width 0.80 m., height 1.40 m, was connected with the main cutting of the aqueduct (W of the obstruction). Construction of a circular cistern after aqueduct went out of use. A house of the 2nd c. A.D. was found above the fill of the moat (eight areas and one bath) with strong foundations, height 1.20 m. The walls were built of layers of brickwork connected with mortar and at some points preserved to a height of 2 m. Two areas of the house contained wall paintings with birds, flowers and fruit trees. A Late Roman sculptured head of a negro was found on the floor of the cistern.

TH43 – 3-5-7 KARAGEORGI SERVIAS AND 2 NIKIS (plot)

Sources: Vanderpool (1956) 267; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder A-147, 1.

Year of excavation: 1956.

Fortification elements: Moat with a NE-SW orientation.

Ground slope: Slight downward slope to the E. The bedrock came almost to the modern road surface (at the W part of the plot).

Length / Width / Depth of moat: 16.50 m. / 13 m. upper part, 8.60 m. (bottom) / 6.35 m. (bottom).

Contents of moat fill: A large mass of ceramics of the early Roman period. Many conglomerate blocks of the *proteichisma* at the bottom of the moat.

TH44 – 8 ERMOU (plot)

Sources: Travlos Archive, Athens Folder A-147, 1.

Year of excavation: 1961.

Fortification elements: Moat with a NE-SW orientation.

Depth of discovery: 2 m. from the pavement.

Width of moat: 9–9.50 m.

TH45 – 22 VOULIS AND PETRAKI (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1967b); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder A-147, 1.

Year of excavation: 1966.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NE-SW orientation, moat, retaining wall of moat.

Dating of *proteichisma*: 4th c. B.C.

Dating of moat fill: Roman.

Composition of ground: Abundant rising water.

Foundations of *proteichisma* / moat retaining wall: On bedrock. Foundation level: 5.80 m. / 6.90 m.

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 12.50 m. / 1.70 m. (original) / 2 m. (4 courses).

Width of moat: 11 m.

Length / Width of moat retaining wall: 14.30 + 4 m. (from cuttings) / 0.60 m.

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Isodomic.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate.

Building material of moat retaining wall: Conglomerate blocks with small rough stones in between.

Contents of moat fill: Stones, bricks, tiles, mortar mixed with carbonised wood, ash, bone and a large number of broken pots. Two bronze coins of the 3rd or 2nd c. B.C.

Other finds: A Roman stone water channel, preserved length 11.50 m., of material that originated from the moat retaining wall,

which had fallen into disuse (above the fill of the moat, across its width).

TH46 – 12 PETRAKI (road)

Sources: Eliopoulos (2001–2004c).

Year / Reason for excavation: 2002 / Trench for drains opened by the Municipality of Athens.

Fortification elements: Fallen blocks, perhaps from the wall (TH).

Depth of discovery: 2.30 m.

Building material of wall: Poros blocks.

Other finds: Part of a funerary kioniskos, part of a mill-stone.

TH47 – MITROPOLEOS–PENTELIS–PETRAKI (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1973).

Year of excavation: 1972.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NE-SW orientation, intramural ring-road. The site of the *proteichisma* and moat was also identified.

Foundations of wall: On bedrock. Foundation level: 5.30 m.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 3.80 m / 2.63 m. (preserved) / 1.63 m.

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 7.50 m.

Type of wall: [All-stone base upon new foundations].

Masonry of wall: Isodomic [headers and stretchers].

Building material of wall: Conglomerate.

Other finds: Drainage channel with an orientation parallel to the wall, of connected terracotta oval sections, with a total length of 8.50 m. A Roman cistern destroyed part of the ancient road.

TH48 – 7 PENTELIS (road)

Sources: Eliopoulos (2001–2004b).

Year / Reason for excavation: 2003 / Opening of a trench for draining by the Athens Water Supply and Sewerage Company (ΕΥΔΑΠ).

Fortification elements: Wall (TH).

Other finds: Two parallel walls, one of rough stones, the other,

later, of thin parallel slabs, perhaps an old floor from the church of Agia Dynami.

TH49 – 15–17 MITROPOLEOS (plot)

Sources: Threpsiades (1960); Vanderpool (1960) 268–269; Daux (1960) 637–642; Travlos (1971) 159–160; ΔEAM Archive, Box 559; Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/ΓΕΝΙΚΑ; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder A-147, 1. The results of a second excavation held in 2015 are as yet unpublished. (see Figs. 43–44, 50, 113).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1959 / Demolition of old houses for the construction of a new building. 2015 / Construction of the Electra Metropolis Hotel.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a N-S orientation, *proteichisma* with three buttresses, moat, two retaining walls of the moat; evidence for probable existence of a gate.

Dating of wall: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.).

Composition / slope of ground: Abundant springs. Slight downward slope, perhaps because of the bed of the Eridanos river.

Depth of discovery: 1 m. (wall, Pentelis street). 3.50 m. (S retaining wall of moat, Apollonos street).

Foundations of wall: Onto a Geometric tomb, in a stepped arrangement following the bedrock slope.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 10 m. / 3 m. (original) / 1–2 courses.

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 9.55 m.

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 7.30 m. / 1.30 m. (original, lower course) / 4 courses (N), 2 courses (S).

Width / Depth of moat: 9.80 m. / >10 m. (bottom). 'It is not certain that they reached bedrock' (Travlos Archive).

Length / Width / Height of moat retaining wall: N: 10.70 m. / – / 6 courses. S: 8.30 m. / 0.60 m. / 2 m. or 3 courses.

Type of wall: Two stone-built faces, 0.43 m. thick. The preserved fill was an undisturbed layer of stones, height 0.60 m.

Type of gate: Before reaching the gates, the crossing road forms a bridge of land that separates two trenches of the moat.

Masonry of *proteichisma*: The stones of the *proteichisma* were of unequal length (1.25 m., 0.50 m.) and width (0.45–0.60 m.). Placed alternating as to their size, two by two large and one small.

Buttresses: Three (at intervals of ca. 2 m.).

Masonry of *proteichisma* / moat retaining wall: Isodomic.

Building material of wall: Mainly poros with Hymettian stone in the second course. The majority of stones were in secondary use. Dimensions of blocks: length ca. 0.60 m., width 0.40 m., height 1 m.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate (lower courses) and poros blocks (upper).

Building material of the moat retaining wall: N: The four lower courses were of unworked conglomerate stone with some poros, one poros block in secondary use. The two upper courses were of poros except for one conglomerate block. S: The two lower courses were of conglomerate unworked stones, the upper of poros. The upper poros stone was 0.60 m. wide and protruded out from the others by 0.07 m., it carried on its N part a drafted edge of fine workmanship. Its S face was unworked. The sharp slope to the N was interpreted as the result of channelling water of the Eridanos.

Built-in ancient material: Body of a kouros of Pentelic marble of fine workmanship (from the core).

Other finds: A Geometric grave, the corner of an isodomic tower-like structure of poros, conglomerate and Hymettian stone, a Classical house made of rough stones above the E half of the tower-like structure, and the bottom of a square cistern. A hydraulic installation with a central water channel connected to many smaller clay channels, which collected the water into the larger one. Parts of this elaborate system were built with rough stones, stone slabs, but also isodomic walls of conglomerate stone. At the north side of the large channel, a tunnel was found cut into the ground. The water ended at a narrower channel within the moat. The body of a male sculpture was found in the ancient fill, wearing a himation, along with two funerary kioniskoi, one of them inscribed. In the upper fill were Early Christian architectural members (simple columns, an Ionic epistyle, parts of a geison), perhaps from a temple that preceded the church of Agia Dynami, which today is on Mitropoleos street.

TH50 – 32 VOULIS AND APOLLONOS (road)

Sources: Alexandri (1967d).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1966 / Opening of a draining

trench (ΥΔΠΕΞ).

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NW-SE orientation, moat, moat retaining wall.

Dating of *proteichisma*: 4th c. B.C.

Foundations of *proteichisma*: Within bedrock (level: 2.95 m.), in two stepped cuttings. **Foundation level:** 3.70 m.

Foundations of moat retaining wall: Within cuttings in the bedrock. Foundation level: 3.70 m.

Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 1.10 m. (original) / 1.30 m. (3 courses).

Width of moat: 11 m.

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Isodomic.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate.

Building material of moat retaining wall: Poros.

Other finds: Two successive wall foundations at different levels and direction: one (N-S) of bricks and dressed poros blocks set in layers, the other (E-W) of unworked stones, connected with mortar and layers of bricks, as well as with rectangular poros blocks. An Early Christian grave.

TH51 – VOULIS-APOLLONOS-SKOUPHOU (plot)

Sources: Stavropoulos (1965b); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder A-147, 7.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1964 / Excavation works.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NW-SE orientation (blocks not found in situ), moat.

Composition / Slope of ground: The course of the moat showed a slight fluctuation following the morphology of the rocky ground.

Width of moat: 6.70 m. (N) – 9 m. (S) (revealed).

Contents of moat fill: The fill was in a water-logged state because of ground water. The investigation did not reveal any chronological markers.

TH52 – 24 NIKIS (plot)

Sources: Travlos (1960) 78, n. 1.

Year of excavation: Unknown (before 1960).

Fortification elements: Moat with a NW-SE orientation.

TH53 – 30 NIKIS (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1976c).

Year of excavation: 1976.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NW-SE orientation, moat, extramural ring-road. No trace of the wall was found.

Dating of *proteichisma*: 1: Middle of 4th c. B.C. / 2: Later repairs, undated.

Dating of moat fill: Up to the 1st c. A.D.

Foundation of *proteichisma*: Within bedrock cuttings (level: 2.60–3.50 m.). Foundation level: 1.60 m. from bedrock level.

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 9 m. / 1.20 m. (original) / 5 courses.

Width / Depth of moat: 4 m. (revealed) / 5 m. (bottom).

Masonry of *proteichisma*: 1: Isodomic.

Building material of *proteichisma*: 1. Conglomerate and architectural members in secondary use / 2: Bricks.

Contents of moat fill: Organic remains, building material and broken pottery.

Other finds: Two perpendicular walls built with building material of the fortification, broken tiles and lime mortar (area of the extramural ring-road). Three other walls (area of the moat). A terracotta drain (area of the wall).

TH54 – 27 NIKIS (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1970b); Lazaridis (1970); Biris (1940) 23, 46, no. 17; Nikopoulou (1969).

Year of excavation: 1969.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NW-SE orientation, moat.

Foundations of *proteichisma*: On bedrock. Foundation level: 5.30 m.

Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 1.50 m. (original) / 1.20–1.60 m. (3–4 courses).

Width / Depth of moat: 9.30 m. / 4 m. (bottom).

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Pseudo-isodomic.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate.

Contents of moat fill: Three tombstones of a family funerary

peribolos of the 2nd third of 4th c. B.C.

Other finds: Ruins of a three-aisled church, built before the 10th c. A.D. (above the *proteichisma* and moat). In the same place was a single-aisled naiskos of the 15th–16th c. A.D. The excavation fill produced: a small Classical black-glazed phiale, three Hellenistic spindle-shaped unguentaria, one Roman stamped amphora handle, five lamps (1. last quarter of 4th–2nd quarter of 3rd c. B.C., 2. 2nd half of 3rd c. B.C., 3. 2nd half of 2nd c. B.C., 4. late 2nd or early 1st c. B.C., 5. 1st c. B.C–1st c. A.D.), and five bronze coins.

TH55 – NIKIS-NAVARCHOU NIKODIMOU-SKOUPHOU (road)

Sources: Alexandri (1967e); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder A-147, 13. The results of the excavation undertaken in 2015 are unpublished.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1966 / Opening of a trench for drainage (ΥΔΡΕΞ). 2018 / Opening of a trench.

Fortification elements: Wall (N, S) (TH) with N: NE-SW and S: NW-SE orientation, tower.

Dating of wall: 4th c. B.C.

Foundations of wall: Within bedrock cuttings. Foundation Level: 3.42 m. (N).

Foundations of tower: Cut into bedrock, deeper than the wall foundations (N). Foundation level: 2.25 m. (S).

Length / Width / Height of wall: 4.20 m. (S) / 1.80 m. (N, preserved) / 2 m. (N), 2 courses, S.

Length of tower: 4 m. (preserved).

Type of wall: [All-stone base on new foundations].

Type of tower: Square, embedded into the outer face of the wall [All-stone base on new foundations].

Masonry of wall / tower: Isodomic [headers].

Building material of wall / tower: Conglomerate, poros at the outer facing (N) / Conglomerate.

Built-in ancient material: Part of the anthemion crowning of a marble Archaic stele, which must have carried a sphinx at its top.

Other finds: A drain built of stones and lime mortar (N of wall). Two Early Christian graves (N of drain). A Late Classical wall with a E-W orientation and a Late Roman wall with a N-S orientation (towards Xenophontos street). A built pithos and part

of a poros geison (S of the wall).

TH56 – 31–33 NIKIS (plot)

Sources: Stavropoulos (1965e); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder A-147, 13.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1964 / Digging for the footings of a building.

Fortification elements: Moat with a NW-SE orientation.

Composition / Slope of ground: Water had completely disintegrated the overlying fill. The course of the moat showed a slight fluctuation, due to the natural morphology of the rocky ground.

TH57 – 3 LAMACHOU (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1969f); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder A-147, 12.

Year of excavation: 1968.

Fortification elements: Moat with a NW-SE orientation, retaining wall of moat/road; probable existence of a gate.

Preservation status on excavation: The northern part of the N retaining wall of the road had been completely destroyed.

Ground slope: Steep rise of the bedrock to the S corner of the plot, where it meets the modern ground level, defining the S boundary of the moat.

Foundations of road retaining wall: On bedrock. Foundation level: 4.50–5 m.

Masonry / Building material of road retaining wall: Isodomic / Conglomerate.

Dating of road: Late Classical.

Contents of moat fill: Nine lamps of the 1st c. B.C. – 1st c. A.D., two plastic protomes from a kados of the 1st c. A.D. (*Agora V*, pl. 6, no. G102), a few utilitarian pots, fragments of wall paintings, and a large amount of sherds. Four bronze coins, three of them Athenian of the 2nd c. B.C.

Other finds: Two drains (in the area of the road), one (earlier) was cut into bedrock, the other was a built drain.

TH58 – 30 AMALIAS AND PHILELLINON (plot)

Sources: Travlos (1960) 78, n. 1.

Year of excavation: Unknown (before 1960).

Fortification elements: Moat.

TH59 – 32–34 AMALIAS (central reservation)

Sources: Zachariadou (1998a).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1998 / Opening of holes for the laying of cement reinforcements in the context of the Metro construction.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NW-SE orientation (not secure identification) or another construction with the fortification's building material in secondary use.

Preservation status on excavation: Fragmentary. The masonry had been disturbed by later drains.

Depth of discovery: 1.10–1.48 m.

Foundations of wall: Partly in the earth fill, partly in bedrock.

Length / Width of wall: 3.75 m. / 2.30 m. (2 courses).

Masonry of wall: Headers and stretchers.

Building material of wall: conglomerate reddish blocks and some yellow poros blocks with red earth binder.

Other finds: Four graves (one Archaic, the rest empty), 13 walls of buildings, one of which was Late Classical or Hellenistic, 14 drains, a well, a cleaning hole connecting with two drains of the bath, two pithoi and four silos.

TH60 – VASILISSIS OLGAS (road, north of the Olympieion)

Sources: Tsouklidou-Penna (1983a).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1983 / Opening of a 2 m. trench by the Athens Water Supply and Sewerage Company (ΕΥΔΑΠ) along the length of the S pavement.

Fortification elements: Moat.

Composition of ground: Rock.

Width of moat: 9.50 m.

Other finds: Two parallel Late Roman walls 5.21 m. apart, with a NE-SW orientation, of stones encased in much mortar, length 4.25 m. (1st wall), 4.12 m. (2nd wall), width 1.83 m. (1st wall), 1 m. (2nd wall), height 2.79 m. (1st wall) and 2.68 m. (2nd wall).

Fragments of a mosaic floor, many terracotta or cut drains, Π-shaped and oval shaped, cisterns. A probable Late Classical structure with a mosaic gravel floor without a particular design, 3.10 m. deep (between the two walls and closest to the western).

TH61 – WEST OF THE OLYMPIEION PROPYLON

Sources: Koumanoudes (1888) 13–17; Vanderpool (1957) 281; Brann (1959); Travlos (1960) 53; Vanderpool (1960) 267–268; Daux (1960) 631–637; Travlos (1971) 160. (see Figs. 35–36).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1886 / Laying out of Vasilissis Olgas avenue. 1956–1959 / Cleaning works during the landscaping of the area.

Fortification elements: 1881: SE part of an outer tower of the N arm of a gate [the structure was not then recognised]. 1956–1959: NW part of the same tower and wall (TH) with a NW-SE orientation, moat, crossing road with wheel ruts.

Dating of wall / gate: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.).

Dating of moat: Late 4th c. B.C.

Foundations of gate: On bedrock.

Width / Depth of moat: 11 m. / 4–5 m. (bottom).

Building material of gate: Poros blocks in secondary use, originating from the Peisistratid Olympieion.

Other finds: 1886: 16 architectural members, 21 fragments of sculpture, 13 inscriptions (two funerary, two dedicatory, one decree, and eight undetermined), a spindle whorl, 23 bronze, three bone, and four terracotta finds, as well as 27 bronze coins (three Athenian, 18 Byzantine, six undetermined). 1959: A small excavation trench (0.60 x 1 m.) at the corner between the NW wall of the gate and the inner face of the wall yielded ceramics dating from the last quarter of the 8th to the 2nd quarter of the 6th c. B.C. 1956–1959: Geometric graves S of the Classical houses, a Geometric grave SE of the Arch of Hadrian and N of the road, Classical and Hellenistic houses, a Roman bath, and an Early Christian basilica; five column drums (within the moat).

TH62 – 26 ATHANASIOU DIAKOU (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1968a); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 4N-155, 3.

Year of excavation: 1968.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with an E-W orientation (identified with caution).

Dating of wall: 4th c. B.C.

TH63 – 8 IOSIPH TON ROGON (road)

Sources: Philippaki (1966c); Travlos (1971) 160; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 4N-155, 5, 9. (see Fig. 62).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1965 / Opening of a trench by the Hellenic Telecommunications Organization (OTE).

Fortification elements: Wall (TH/V) with a NE-SW orientation, gate or postern (TH), tower (V).

Dating of wall: 1: Kononian (394 B.C.) / 2: 4th c. B.C. (Lykourgan) / 3: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.).

Dating of tower: Valerian or Justinianic.

Preservation status on excavation: Some blocks of the Valerian wall were found fallen and others built.

Depth of discovery: 2: 0.20 m. / 3: 1 m.

Foundations of tower: On a Roman drainage channel.

Length / Height of wall: 1: 2 m. / 2: 4 (W) + 7 m. (E) / 3: 3.50 m. / 1: 3 courses / 2: 2 courses / 3: 2 courses.

Type of tower: Perhaps square, embedded into the outer face of the wall. The two walls of the tower are parallel to each other and perpendicular to the W side of the excavation trench.

Masonry of wall: 1: Excellent masonry with furrowed work on the outer surfaces of the blocks.

Building material of wall: 1: Blocks / 2: Conglomerate / 3: Blocks and mixed material in secondary use.

Building material of tower: Small stones and mortar.

Built-in ancient material: Inscribed cylindrical base (V wall).

Other finds: Drain built with bricks.

TH63.1 – 8 IOSIPH TON ROGON (plot)

Sources: Kokkoliou (2005).

Year / Reason for excavation: 2005 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NW-SE orientation, and, perhaps, wall (V: conversion of the *proteichisma*).

[The fortification line passes through this plot with a NW-SE orientation. The location of the discovery might suggest that this section forms part of the NW-SE opening in the wall excavated on plot TH63, possibly part of a gate or postern (TH)].

Dating of *proteichisma*: 4th c. B.C.

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 2.40 m. / 1.10–1.20 / 1.40–1.50 m. (3 courses).

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Isodomic. The inner face of the *proteichisma* was coated with a layer of mortar due to the cistern which extended to the east in contact with the *proteichisma*. At this point, the latter was probably converted turn into a curtain wall.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate.

Other finds: Habitation remains of the Hellenistic period (ca. 3rd c. B.C.) were discovered in the western part of the site. A semi-circular wall with a buttress was revealed almost at the centre of the plot dating to about 300 B.C. It was made of small- and medium-size rough stones, with mud as a binder, and it was 4.90 m. long, 0.45 m. thick; its preserved height was 1.15 m. The northwest section of the *proteichisma* was destroyed by a large Roman drain (2nd–3rd c. A.D.), which was 4.40 m. long, 2.10 m. wide, and 2.15–2.25 m. high, and was built with stones and hydraulic mortar.

TH64 – 12–14 IOSIPH TON ROGON AND 19 LEMPESI (plot)

Sources: Unpublished excavation.

Year of excavation: 2006.

Fortification elements: The find – stone masonry of some length – is on the line of the TH wall with a SE-NW orientation between sites TH63 and TH65; it is visible and visitable in the basement of the building.

TH65 – 19 LEMPESI (road)

Sources: Kyriakou (2001–2004a).

Year / Reason for excavation: 2002 / Laying of cables by the Public Power Corporation (ΔΕΗ) as part of works for the Athenian Tram.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NE-SW orientation.

Depth of discovery: 0.77–1.27 m.

Length / Height of wall: 3.80 m. / 1.50 m. (3 courses).

Building material of wall: Conglomerate blocks.

Dating of wall: 1. 4th c. B.C. / 2. Later repairs and conversions.

Other finds: Conglomerate blocks E of the wall, fallen or in situ, and a stone pile almost parallel with the wall. Fragments of red-figure and black-figure pottery of the 4th c. B.C., two pyramidal spindle whorls (3rd c. B.C.), a terracotta spindle-shaped unguentarium (1st half of 2nd c. B.C.), some Hellenistic and Roman sherds (within the wall line). Abundant ceramics from the 5th c. B.C. until Roman times (outside the wall line).

TH66 – IOSIPH TON ROGON (road, south of Lempesi street)

Sources: Judeich (1905) 117; Noack (1907) 509.

Year of identification: 1905.

Fortification elements: Tower (TH).

Height of tower: 2.70 m. (7 courses).

Type of tower: [All-stone base].

Masonry of tower: [Isodomic. Headers and stretchers].

Building material of tower: Conglomerate.

TH67 – 5-7-9 VOURVACHI (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1972b); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 4N-155, 5. (see Figs. 87–88).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1970 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with an E-W orientation, wall (V: conversion of the *proteichisma*), *proteichisma* with three buttresses, extramural ring-road, retaining wall of road (?), moat, two retaining walls of moat [Travlos notes in a drawing the likelihood that the putative road retaining wall could be part of the TH wall].

Dating of wall: Middle of 4th c. B.C.

Dating of *proteichisma*: 1: Middle of 4th c. B.C. / 2: (conversion of the *proteichisma* into a wall) After Sulla (87/6 B.C.) or 1st c. A.D.; [see Alexandri (1972b) 45] or Valerian [see Alexandri (1972b) 44, fig. 14].

Dating of moat: Middle of 4th c. B.C.

Dating of road: Hellenistic.

Slope of ground: Strongly N-S (0.40–8 m.).

Foundations of wall: Within staggered bedrock cuttings.

Foundation level: 0.40 m. (TH).

Foundation of *proteichisma* / retaining wall of road: Within staggered bedrock cuttings. **Foundation level:** 8 m. (*proteichisma*).

Length / Width / Height of wall: 6 m. / One stretcher block / 1 course (TH).

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 8.50 m.

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 11.50 m. / 2.50 m. (original) / 1: 5.70 m. (9 courses) / 2: 2.50 m. (3 courses).

Width of moat: 9.50 m.

Length / Height of moat retaining wall: 3.70 m. (parallel with the *proteichisma*) / 3 courses.

Type of wall: [All-stone base] (TH).

Buttresses: Three buttresses. The E and W had a height of 5 courses, the middle 6 courses. The E was 3.90 long, 1.40 m. wide, and 2.75 m. high; the middle was 2.50 m. long, 1.30 m. wide, and 2.90 m. high; the W was 2.10 m. long, 1.50 m. wide, and 2.30 m. high. The middle buttress was 3.70 m. from the eastern and 4.50 m. from the western buttress. They were built of conglomerate and founded in bedrock at a depth of 3.75–2.50 m. from the road level of Vourvachi street. The two upper courses belong to a second building phase.

Masonry of wall: Stretcher blocks (TH). The inner face of the converted *proteichisma* was coated with a thick layer of mortar (V).

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Isodomic. 1: Alternating headers and stretchers.

Masonry of moat retaining wall: Isodomic.

Masonry of road retaining wall: Polygonal.

Building material of wall: Conglomerate (TH).

Building material of *proteichisma*: 1: Conglomerate / 2: Stones in secondary use, bound with mortar and stones.

Building material of moat retaining wall: Conglomerate.

Other finds: Remains of a drainage system of the city, which cut through the *proteichisma* and discharged into the moat (below the Hellenistic road). Parts of below ground drains were discovered at four points, while one small part of a drain of small stones was above ground. Four rectangular cleaning shafts cut into bedrock. A circular cistern that was connected to two drains (E

middle wall). A shallow groove within bedrock with a strong slope to the NE, which probably fed the cistern (NE middle wall). Part of a Late Roman cistern (1.70 x 1.40 m.) and of a room with remains of wall paintings (in the area of the moat) that was connected to the cistern (2.20 x 1.50 m.). Contents of ancient fill: black-glazed pottery, utilitarian wares, lamps, stamped amphora handles, and loom weights.

TH68 – 3 VOURVACHI (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1969a). (see Fig. 69).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1968 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with an E-W orientation.

Dating of wall: End of 4th c. B.C.

Foundations of wall: Within staggered bedrock cuttings.

Foundation level: 2.15–1.66 m.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 8.50–12.50 m. / 3–3.20 m. (original) / 1.05 m. (2 courses) – 6 courses.

Type of wall: All-stone base on new foundations.

Masonry of wall: Isodomic. Alternating headers and stretchers.

Building material of wall: Conglomerate.

Other finds: Rectangular room of Hellenistic date (inside the wall line), a wall (SW of the room), a drain with joined terracotta pipes, probably part of the drainage system of the house, a Classical wall (S of the Hellenistic room), and a cluster of graves of the late 4th c. B.C. with goods of the 2nd quarter of the 4th and 2nd half of 4th c. B.C. (NE side, inside the wall line). Contents of ancient fill: Classical and Hellenistic sherds, including a red-figure pyxis of the 1st quarter of 4th c. B.C., a kados, a black-glazed lamp type 25A (Howland), a pear-shaped amphora, a severe style female head of an Attic figurine, an Athenian bronze coin of the 3rd c. B.C., a fragment of a marble arm from a statue, and parts of wall paintings.

TH69 – 3 VOURVACHI (road)

Sources: Alexandri (1967c).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1966 / Opening of trench by

the Public Power Corporation (ΔΕΗ).

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NW-SE orientation.

Preservation status on excavation: The majority of stones of the upper course had been destroyed by the laying of a water channel.

Foundations of wall: On bedrock (foundation level: 1.85 m.).

Length / Width / Height of wall: 9 m. / 3 m. (original) / 1.40 m. (3 courses).

Type of wall: [All-stone base on new foundations].

Masonry of wall: Isodomic. Alternating headers and stretchers.

Building material of wall: Conglomerate.

Dating of wall: 4th c. B.C.

Other finds: Four stamped handles, two spindle whorls, and a lamp.

TH70 – 1 VOURVACHI (road)

Sources: Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 4N-155, 5.

Year of excavation: 1954.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NW-SE orientation.

Type of wall: [All-stone base on new foundations].

TH71 – 4 VOURVACHI (road)

Sources: Kokkoliou (2001–2004a).

Year / Reason for excavation: 2001 / Connection of a drainage channel by the Municipality of Athens.

Fortification elements: Not reported. [Probably part of the V wall; the findings were discovered at the southern extension of the V wall of site TH73].

Depth of discovery: 1.05 m.

Building material: Reddish blocks.

TH72 – 2 VOURVACHI AND SYNGROU (road)

Sources: Vanderpool (1956) 267; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 4N-155, 5; Chatzipouliou (1991b); for the excavation site on a topographical plan, see Alexandri (1968b). (see Fig. 64).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1955, 1991 / Laying of a

drainage channel.

Fortification elements: Wall, N face (TH: 1955, 1991, V: 1955) with a NW-SE orientation [Travlos includes in his plan also a site of a later tower].

Dating of wall: 1991: 4th c. B.C.

Depth of discover: 1991: 0.47 m.

Width / Height of wall: [1955: 2.72 m.] / 1991: 3.40 m. (1955: 2–3 courses, 1991: 6 courses).

Masonry of wall: [The finishing of the outer face was ‘completely level, finely worked’. Travlos’ plan shows small perpendicular cuttings on the poros blocks, which are not present on the limestone blocks. The polygonal blocks were connected to those of the upper course with triangular plugs at the joints.]

Building material of wall: 1955: Yellowish limestone and poros blocks.

Other finds: 1955: Travlos noted three layers of the fill: ‘a large fill of gravel and much pottery’ (for the two upper courses), ‘clean sand’ (middle), and ‘fine earth’ (lower).

TH73 – 2 VOURVACHI AND 21 SYNGROU (plot)

Sources: Threpsiades (1971) 16–18; Paraskevaïdis (1958); Travlos (1960) 78, n.1, and 124, n. 2; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 4N-155, 5.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1958 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: Moat (TH), wall (V) with a NW-SE and NE-SW orientation.

Dating of wall: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.).

Foundations of wall: In the area of the moat, on a stoa of the 2nd c. A.D.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 11.70 m. (wall B), 5 m. (wall C) / 4.50 / 0.80 m. (wall B), 1.50 m. (wall C) / 1–2 courses (wall B), 3 courses (wall C).

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill with all sorts of materials, stones and mortar.

Masonry of wall: The N wall of the stoa was used in the 3rd c. A.D. as the interior face of the Valerian peribolos, its outer face was newly built and exhibits excellent work (wall C). The core between the two walls was then filled.

Building material of wall: Stones, poros blocks, marble, all connected with mortar (walls B, C). The large blocks in secondary use of wall C were connected with iron clamps without mortar.

Built-in ancient material: An inscribed marble, 1.54 x 0.87 x 0.75 m., either a statue base or a funerary table (wall C).

Other finds: In the fill of moat: a wall (Z), width 1 m. and length 11 m., which formed a step (the oldest find of the excavation), and a built drain of the 1st c. A.D. with a stone arch connected with mortar, length 20 m., inner thickness 1.10 m., height 1.50 m., and later than the fill of the moat; a later large double cistern with three buttresses, length 6.10 m., width 1 m., height 1.70 m.; a stoa of the 2nd c. A.D. with two walls (N, W), total width 7 m. (E of the cistern), in the entrance of which two built statue bases were found. In the ancient fill: an inscribed marble kioniskos, some lamps, and abundant sherds of cooking vessels.

TH74 – 23 SYNGROU (plot)

Sources: Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou (1978b).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1978 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NE-SW orientation, *proteichisma*, extramural ring-road. The moat was not detected.

Dating of wall: 4th c. B.C.

Dating of *proteichisma*: 1: 4th c. B.C. / 2: Hellenistic repair.

Dating of road: Abandoned during the Roman period.

Composition / Slope of ground: The bedrock dropped sharply outside of the *proteichisma*.

Foundation of wall: Substructure of the foundation course comprised one layer of rough stones. Between the 4th c. B.C. wall and bedrock was an ancient layer of clay 0.20 m. thick. Foundation level: 3.50 m. (Syngrou avenue).

Foundations of *proteichisma*: Within bedrock cuttings. Foundation level: 5.50 m.

Length / Height of wall: 9.20 m. / 2 courses.

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 7 m.

Height of *proteichisma*: 6 courses.

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill.

Masonry of wall: Stretchers on the outer face. Above the foundation course was a series of orthostates recessed ca. 0.10 m.

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Alternating headers and stretchers.

Building material of wall: Poros (foundation course).

Building material of *proteichisma*: 1. Conglomerate / 2.

Rough stones, tiles, connecting clay.

Other finds: A Roman wall of unknown use interrupting the extramural ring-road. It was build of material from the adjacent wall, to which it was parallel and 3.10 distance from. [It was probably the continuation of the V wall, see site TH75]. A 0.80 m. thick layer was noted in the fill which came from the cleaning of the ruined city after the invasion of Sulla (87/6 B.C.), with abundant sherds of red-slip pottery, loom weights, lamps etc. (1st c. B.C. – 1st c. A.D.) (outside of the stretch of the *proteichisma* repaired during Hellenistic times).

TH75 – 25 SYNGROU (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1973–1974c); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 4N-155, 5.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1973 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall with a NE-SW orientation (TH), wall (V), extramural ring-road.

Dating of wall: 1. Themistoklean (?) / 2: 4th c. B.C. / 3. Valerian (3rd c. A.D.).

Slope of ground: Downwards. The outer face of the wall (TH) was built along the length of the ridge.

Foundations of wall: 1: On bedrock (level: 5.30 m.) and on a Protogeometric grave (SE end of wall). 3: The V foundations, 2.50 m. from the TH wall, were on an ancient road, which had been built on fills of the *proteichisma*. Foundation level: 1: 5.30 m. 3: 3.25 m.

Length / Width / Height of wall: TH: 1: 4.25 m. / 2.85 m. (total) / 1.25–1.50 m. 2: [1: height of foundation course: 0.35 m., height of stone base: 1.46 m., see Travlos Archive]. V: 10.50 m. / 2.10 m. / 2.30 m.

Type of wall: 1: Double faced wall with inner fill of rough stones connected with clay. The lower layer of the wall protrudes 0.15 m. / 3: Double faced wall, each face 0.70 m. thick, and inner fill of stones and bricks connected with mortar.

Masonry of wall: 1: Travlos: 'A fine wall, built in the polygonal

manner'. 1: The lower course protrudes 0.15 m.

Building material of wall: 1: Limestone / 2: Conglomerate / 3: Conglomerate.

Other finds: Protogeometric grave. A wall built of poros blocks of various sizes, N-S orientation, length 6 m., and 1 course high, founded in fill 0.20 m. thick (the oldest architectural remains, E side of plot). A large later drain with E-W orientation, perpendicular to the wall. A later wall, 13 m. long, 0.70 m. thick, and 2 m. high, of stones of various sizes and mortar, crossing the plot in an E-W direction across its whole width, destroying the NW part of the TH wall. Another drain, inverted Π in section, connected with a closed rectangular cleaning hole, preserved length 4.50 m., and a wall, of the same construction, perpendicular to it, preserved length 4.50 m. Parts of three sides of a Roman cistern of stone, bricks and mortar, with sides and floor coated in a thick layer of hydraulic mortar. In the ancient fill: a marble male head, two Hellenistic lamps and one Roman, and unguentarium, and many pottery fragments of Hellenistic and Roman date. In the fill abutting the outer face of the TH wall, Travlos noted the discovery of pottery of the 1st half of the 5th c. B.C.

TH76 – 6 KORYZI (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1968e); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 4N-155, 5. (see Fig. 91).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1967 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NE-SW orientation, moat, extramural ring-road with retaining wall, tower (TH).

Dating of tower: 6th c. A.D. In Travlos' plan, the tower is designated Valerian.

Dating of *proteichisma*: Middle of 4th c. B.C.

Foundations of tower: On the ruins of the *proteichisma*.

Foundations of *proteichisma*: Within bedrock cuttings.

Foundation level: 2.20 m.

Height of tower: 3 m. (preserved).

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 4.50 m. / 1.80 m. (original) / 2.80 m. (6 courses).

Type of tower: Rubble masonry. It is not known how the tower

was connected to the wall.

Masonry of tower: Rubble masonry.

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Isodomic.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate.

Other finds: A drain with stone sides and binding material, with a vaulted roof and a floor comprising a layer of poros chips and mortar (1.50 x 1m.). It was revealed across the whole width of the plot, within the area of the moat, 2.90 m. in front of the *proteichisma*. Foundations of meagre remains of later structures found on bedrock. In the plan of the excavation, a retaining wall is shown in the area between the wall and *proteichisma*, probably of the road, which was not mentioned in the report.

TH77 – 8 KORYZI (plot)

Sources: Kokkoliou (2000); Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/4.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1999 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma*, moat with a NE-SW orientation, extramural ring-road.

Dating of *proteichisma*: 1: End of 4th c. B.C. / 2: 2nd–3rd c. A.D. [the later *proteichisma* was found on the line of the V wall, see site TH75].

Dating of moat: Late 4th c. B.C.

Dating of road: Roman.

Composition / Slope of ground: Sharp slope to SE (W of the *proteichisma*).

Foundations of *proteichisma*: Within bedrock. Foundation level: 3.27 m., 5.20 m.

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 20.40 m. [questionable measurement: the length of the front of the plot is only 11 m.] / 1.54 m. / 3.80 m. (7 courses).

Width of moat: 9.10 m. (investigated to a depth of 5.20 m.).

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Isodomic. Alternating headers and stretchers.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate blocks (mainly). Dimensions: 1.20 x 0.50 m.

Other finds: Fragmentary Classical walls and a Roman building (in the area of the moat), a built drain of the 2nd c. A.D. of rough stones, poros chips and hydraulic mortar, length 10.40 m.,

width 1.85 m., height 0.70 m., at a depth of 3.04 m. In the moat fill, which was investigated to a depth of 5.20 m., ceramics were collected from the 4th c. B.C. (mainly) but also of the 2nd c. B.C.; the usual deposits of debris from the cleaning of the city after Sulla's invasion (87/6 B.C.) were not found.

TH78 – 29 SYNGROU AND NEGRI (plot)

Sources: Third Archaeological Region of Athens (1963) 39–40; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 4N-155, 7. (see Fig. 78).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1962 / Laying of building foundations.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NE-SW orientation, buttress, moat.

Composition/ Slope of ground: The hard rock strongly inclines from NW to SE, determining the course of the *proteichisma*, which makes a slight curve, more perceptible at the NE end of its revealed section.

Depth of discovery: 4.30 m.

Level of bedrock: 2 (NW)–5 m. (*proteichisma* cuttings).

Foundations of *proteichisma*: Within bedrock cuttings.
Foundation level: 6.10 m.

Width of *proteichisma*: 1.30–1.55 m. (original).

Width / Depth of moat: 8 m. / 4 m. (bottom).

Building material of *proteichisma*: Poros and conglomerate blocks without binding material, small stones for supplementing the gaps. Same building material for the buttress.

Other finds: Undecorated and black-glazed sherds (*proteichisma*). In the moat fill: parts of lamps and Greek and Roman pots, a sever style head of a young girl.

TH78.1 – 31 SYNGROU (plot)

Sources: Sakka (2009).

Year / Reason for excavation: 2009 / Laying of building foundations.

Fortification elements: Moat with a NW-SE orientation.

Other finds: The earliest find was a pit grave of the 8th c. B.C. Residential remains of one or more buildings occupied the northern part of the site from the end of the 5th c. B.C. A well was

in use during the Classical period until the end of the 5th c. B.C. In the early Roman period, there were signs of funeral use (two graves). At the end of the 2nd c. A.D. – early 3rd c. A.D. a large building was erected along the W-E axis, possibly of commercial character, consisting of at least 16 rectangular rooms organized around four orthogonal likely open-air spaces. An underground pear-shaped cistern communicated through a built tunnel with another large, quadrilateral cistern, part of which was revealed at the western corner of the plot. In the eastern corner a section of a large stone drain was found, probably a branch of a central drainage network of the Roman era. Finally, workshops functioned in the area from the 3rd to the 6th c. A.D.

TH79 – 38-40 SYNGROU (road)

Sources: Stavropoulos (1965d); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 4N-155, 7-8.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1964 / Opening of a drainage trench (ΥΔΡΕΞ).

Fortification elements: Wall (TH), moat. Orientation: NW-SE (trench Γ) & NE-SW (trench B, moat).

Dating of wall: 1: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.) (trench B) / 2: 4th c. B.C. (trenches B, Γ).

Dating of moat fill: Hellenistic and Roman.

Preservation status on excavation: The first two courses of the 4th c. wall were found damaged by the drilling machine of the construction company, before the intervention of the Archaeological service (trench B).

Composition / Slope of ground: Trench B: Naturally levelled bedrock from W to E with two fills, prehistoric and Geometric.

Level of bedrock: 0.40–0.50 m. (below the road surface of Syngrou avenue and 10 m. S of Donta street) / 0.65–1.23 m. (trench A, cutting) / 2.55 m. (trench B).

Foundations of wall: 1: In the NE face, the substructure of rough stones follows a hard packed Geometric layer above the bedrock; at the SE face, below the substructure was a hard packed layer, although of small thickness, another prehistoric layer, and finally the bedrock (trench B). 2: The blocks of the wall were in part founded on the geometric wall and in part on the poros blocks of the previous preserved building phase. One block (Γ1) was directly

founded in the hard fill, 1 m. deep, inserted between this and the bedrock, without the insertion of blocks of the previous phase (trench B). Foundation level: 1: 1.60–1.70 m. (core), 1.80 m. (poros blocks) / 2: 0.93–0.98 m., 1.42 m. (conglomerate).

Width of wall: 2: 3 m. (original, trench Γ).

Height of wall: 1.30 m. (trench B) / 1.55 m. (trench Γ) [3 courses (original, trenches B, Γ).

Width / Depth of moat: 11.70 m. / 3.20–3.40 m. (bottom).

Type of wall: 1: Double faced wall with inner fill / 2: All-stone base on new foundations but also onto the previous remains.

Masonry of wall: The conglomerate blocks of the outer NE face of the wall were configured with successive recesses 0.10 m. deep (trench B); these were broader on the outer face and thinner on the inner face of the wall (trench Γ).

Building material of wall: Trench B: 1: Carefully dressed poros blocks, 0.70 x 0.75 m. and 0.40 m. high / 2: Reddish conglomerate. Trench Γ: 2: Conglomerate.

Contents of moat fill: Geometric and Roman sherds at the same depth.

Other finds: A Geometric grave and a Geometric wall with an almost N-S orientation, carefully built with a mixture of rough stones and clay (depth 1.50–1.70, length 9, width 0.70, height 0.60–0.70 m.). An Archaic wall of rough stones and clay with a NE-SW orientation, length 0.90 and width 0.60 m., founded at a depth of 1.44 m. A drain of the 5th c. B.C. with an E-W orientation and flowing to the E, founded onto the Archaic wall. An Archaic pithos. A Roman wall. A water channel with inverted Π section with a NW-SE orientation, which supported rough stone masonry of the Roman period connected with mortar which covered and intersected the wall. Remains of private installations within the wall line (foundations of houses, drains and wells, Hellenistic and Roman). In the fill: Protoattic and Geometric ceramics (trench A), a layer with prehistoric sherds between the Geometric fill and the bedrock (trenches B, Γ, area between) and two bronze coins: a sestertius of Hadrian and an Athenian coin of the 3rd c. B.C. (trenches E, Z).

TH80 – 33 SYNGROU AND DONTA (plot)

Sources: Judeich (1931²) 127; Noack (1907) 509; Third

Archaeological Region of Athens (1961–1962) 26; KAS Archive, Act 61/30-10-1961.

Year of excavation: 1961.

Fortification elements: Wall [Found S of the TH wall (see site TH79) and on the extension of the line of the *proteichisma* or of the V wall; perhaps the find is to be identified with the site of a tower depicted on Judeich's map (G7)].

Depth of discovery: 4 m.

Building material of wall: Three poros blocks.

TH81 – 3 DONTA (road)

Sources: Noack (1907) 509; Keramopoulos (1911) 257–258; Travlos (1960) 124, n. 2; Travlos (1971) 160.

Year / Reasons for discovery: 1911 / Removal of earth to form the road in front of the newly built Maltsiniotis house.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NW-SE orientation [wall or tower, according to Keramopoulos].

Building material of wall: Large conglomerate blocks and one decayed poros block in tertiary use (1.20 m. long x 0.55 m. wide x 0.29 m. high) from an older foundation later reused, as its cuttings make clear.

Other finds: Roman graves and a limestone wall (outside the wall line), probably of an Ottoman tower which gave its name to the surrounding area (Pyrgari).

TH82 – 44 SYNGROU AND DONTA (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1972i); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 4N-155, 7. See also Third Archaeological Region of Athens (1961–1962) 26.

Year of excavation: 1971.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NW-SE orientation, moat.

Foundations of *proteichisma*: Within bedrock cuttings.
Foundation level: 3.50 m.

Length of *proteichisma*: 4.50 m. (1 course).

Width of moat: 10.50 m.

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Isodomic.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate.

Other finds: A channel below the *proteichisma* and parallel

with it, height 1 m., largest width 0.60 m., horseshoe-shaped, which ended in a well in bedrock. A curved wall, height 7 courses, founded at the bottom of the moat, build with conglomerate stones in pseudo-isodomic masonry and a mixture of architectural material in secondary use (a marble funerary table). Two drains ended in a shallow irregular trench at the bottom of the moat.

TH82.1 – 2 DONTA AND PHALIROU (plot)

Sources: Unpublished excavation.

Year of excavation: 2015.

Fortification elements: The restoration of the fortification line passes through this plot with a SE-NW orientation. Any fortification elements discovered are expected to be associated with the existence of a gateway.

TH83 – 8 PHALIROU (road)

Sources: Alexandri (1968g).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1967 / Opening of a trench.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NW-SE orientation.

Foundations of *proteichisma*: Within staggered cuttings in bedrock. Foundation level: 2.90 m.

Height of *proteichisma*: 2.30 m. (4 courses).

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Isodomic.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate.

Other finds: Two Late Roman graves.

TH84 – 8 PHALIROU AND 7 DIMITRAKOPOULOU (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1967f); Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1/10Α/ΓΕΝΙΚΑ.

Year of excavation: 1966.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NW-SE orientation, moat. No traces of the wall.

Dating of *proteichisma*: End of 4th c. B.C.

Composition of ground: Abundant water.

Foundation of *proteichisma*: Within staggered cuttings in

bedrock (level: S: 4.20 m., N: 1.35 m.). Foundation level: 6.30–7 m.

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 22 m. / up to 2 m. (original) / 2.8 m. (6 courses).

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Isodomic.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Poros, conglomerate blocks and material in secondary use (architectural members from the geison of a building).

Depth of moat: 4.50 m. (revealed).

Other finds: A Submycenaean skyphos and jar (NW of the plot), a Hellenistic polygonal wall, length 5 m., height 0.80 m., thickness 0.60 m. (9.50 m. N of the *proteichisma*), founded in fill 0.10 m. above bedrock at a depth of 1.25 m., three Hellenistic graves, and a drain 1.35 m. high and 0.55 m. wide, carved into bedrock at a distance of 6.50 m. from the *proteichisma* and parallel to it; it was coated internally with hard mortar. In the moat fill: blocks of the *proteichisma* (lowest layer), tiles, mortar, stones, bones mixed with many sherds and clear traces of ash.

TH85 – 14 VEIKOU AND 2 MISARALIOTOU (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1976a); Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/11.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1976 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with an E-W orientation, tower, *proteichisma* with buttress, extramural ring-road.

Dating of wall: 1: Late 5th or early 4th c. B.C. / 2: Middle of 4th c. B.C.

Dating of road: Hellenistic.

Level of bedrock / wall / tower: 4.50 m.

Foundation of *proteichisma*: Within bedrock cuttings.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 14.50 m. / 4 m. (original) [The relatively large thickness probably suggests the site of steps leading to the tower] / 1.40 m. [5 courses, see Archive of the Third EPKA].

Width of tower: 2.50 m. (preserved) (4 courses).

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 8.50 m.

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 6.20 m. / 1.50 m. (original) / 2.60 m. (6 courses).

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill (stones, earth and stone chips).

Type of tower: Embedded into the outer face of the wall, to the side of the *proteichisma*.

Masonry of wall: 1: Polygonal / 2. Irregular trapezoidal.

Masonry of tower / *proteichisma*: Isodomic.

Building material of tower / *proteichisma*: Conglomerate.

Other finds: Monumental drain opening, 1.25 m. wide and 1.07 m. high, with curved stone walls that ended in a triangular arch (the same type as the postern of the E wall of Messene). There are preserved holes on its sides which perhaps held a railing across the opening. The drain was built of dressed poros stones in the isodomic system, with a long channel inside it. Part of the channel was filled in the Hellenistic period with 16 pointed amphorae. A smaller drain of architectural members in secondary use, 0.58 x 0.50 m., E of the first, founded above the buttress of the *proteichisma*. The two drains are undated; through the *proteichisma*, they ended up in the moat. Another wall of building material in secondary use founded on the ancient road. In the moat fill: mainly Hellenistic sherds, and a fragment probably from a relief plaque with a figure wearing a peplos.

TH86 – 2 MISARALIOTOU (road)

Sources: Alexandri (1972f).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1971 / Opening of a trench by the Sewerage Company of Athens (ΟΑΠ).

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with an E-W orientation.

Dating of wall: Two building phases, undated.

Height of wall: 3 courses.

Masonry of wall: Isodomic.

Building material of wall: Poros.

Other finds: A floor of a Late Roman building, and a 'Christian' wall of rubble masonry.

TH87 – 1 MISARALIOTOU (road, north)

Sources: Threpsiades (1950) 68–71; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder, 3N-154, 4. (see Fig. 65).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1950 / Works by the Municipality of Athens.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with an E-W orientation

(point Γ), *proteichisma* and moat (point B). The same excavation also revealed part of the Valerian wall (point A) (see below, site V18).

Dating of wall: Point Γ: 1: Earlier than 4th c. B.C. (Kononian period, 394 B.C.?) / 2: Later repairs, undated.

Composition / Slope of ground: Point Γ: Hard rock.

Depth of discovery: Point Γ: 2 m. Point B: 0.60 m.

Foundations of wall: On bedrock. The rough stones of the fill were carefully placed in layers.

Foundations of *proteichisma*: In sandy fill.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 4.50 / 2.70 / 2.75 m. (5 courses).

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 10 m.

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 1.25 m. / 0.50 m. (excavated) / 1.40 m. (2 courses).

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill.

Masonry of wall: Polygonal limestone and rectangular poros blocks, carefully laid in layers with gaps at the joints filled with plugs.

Building material of wall: 1: Acropolis limestone and poros / 2: Conglomerate (upper courses) and a large piece of marble with *anathyrosis* in secondary use.

Composition of moat fill: Sandy soil.

Other finds: Part of a built Roman aqueduct covered with slabs, found full of water (N of the wall), a drain (length 0.52 m., height 1.40 m).

TH88 – 5–7–9 TSAMI KARATASOU (road)

Sources: Lyngouri-Tolia (1992).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1992 / Opening of a draining trench by the Municipality of Athens.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with an E-W orientation, stairs where the wall widens (point Δ1).

Dating of wall: 1: Kononian (394 B.C.) / 2: Hellenistic.

Composition / Slope of ground: The ground slopes and the fills which covered the wall had been disturbed by flowing water.

Depth of discovery: 1.27 m. (N), 0.56 m. (Δ1), 0.99 m. (W).

Foundation level of wall: 2.65 m. (N), 2.55 m. (Δ1).

Length / Width / Height of wall: 12 + 13 + 0.90 m. / 2.70 m.

(original) / 2 m., 1.20m. (Δ1), 1.25 m. (W) [2: 3 courses (S)].

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 8 m.

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill of small stones, pieces of poros and clay. The steps (Δ1) were revealed to a length of 7.35 m. and projected out 1.80 m. from the N side of the main wall construction.

Masonry of wall: 1: Polygonal stone, width of face 0.30 m. Very careful working of the blocks, and the gaps filled with triangular plugs. Successively placed blocks at W end of the wall, with the original height of the stone base identifiable by the very well-aligned upper surface of the fill. Smaller blocks were used in the site at the corner with Parthenonos street [The difference in block size possible suggests two different building phases. For a possible analogous size difference of the limestone blocks, see sites at 20 Erechtheiou (TH94) and curtain wall 1a at the Kerameikos (TH1)].

Building material of wall: 1: N: Blue limestone and poros (2 upper courses) / 2: S: yellowish poros connected with abundant mortar (3rd course). W: Smaller limestone.

Other finds: Roman wall in contact with the wall from the north.

TH89 – 5–7 TSAMI KARATASOU (plot)

Sources: Threpsiades (1950) 65–67; Lyngouri-Tolia (1989); Lyngouri-Tolia (1990b); Lyngouri-Tolia (1992) (see Fig. 118).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1988–1990, 1992 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall of the 2nd c. B.C. with an E-W orientation, tower, double *proteichisma* (two lines), buttress, moat, extramural ring-road.

Dating of *proteichisma*: 1: End of 4th c. B.C. / 2: 2nd half of 2nd c. B.C.: a conversion phase, including the four upper courses, the drain and the buttress.

Dating of moat fill: 2nd half of 4th c. B.C. Sherds collected from the end of the 4th c. B.C. (depth of 6.17 m.), the Hellenistic period, mainly the 2nd c. B.C., and of the 2nd c. A.D.

Dating of road: End of 4th c. B.C.

Preservation status on excavation: The W side of the N line of the *proteichisma* was found mostly destroyed, while the foundation trench of the *proteichisma* was preserved across the whole width of the side and continued both to the W and to E, while the E was damaged by the W wall of a Roman building.

Composition of ground: Abundant ground water in the area making the fill unstable.

Depth of discovery: N line of *proteichisma*: 4.07 m. S line of *proteichisma*: E: 2.45 m., W: 3.27 m. Tower: 2.64 m.

Foundations of *proteichisma*: N line: On bedrock and in fill of the 5th c. B.C.

Length / Height of tower: 3.15 m. (preserved) / 2.86 m. (4 courses).

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 8.50 m.

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: N line: 3.55 m. / 1.36 m. / 0.73 m. (2 courses). S line: 15.35 m. / 1.40 m. / W: 1.65 m. (4 courses), E: 3.55 m. (9 courses).

Width / Depth of moat: 12.50 m. / N: 8.70 m. S: 6.20 m. (bottom).

Type of *proteichisma*: 1: Double *proteichisma* in the E part.

Buttress: One almost perpendicular construction of conglomerate stones and limestone to the height of the second

course from the top, identified as a buttress of the S line of the *proteichisma*.

Masonry of tower: Isodomic.

Masonry of *proteichisma*: 1: Isodomic. The N line was built first. Almost at the same time the S line was also constructed, which was the main *proteichisma* and was used as a retaining wall of the extramural ring-road. After the construction of the *proteichisma*, the whole area between wall and *proteichisma* was filled in with earth very probably brought from the digging of the moat trench. [An analogous description is given by Travlos at the excavation of 14 Aristeidou street, see Travlos (1940)]. The fill created level ground in part of the area between the wall and *proteichisma*. The extramural ring-road was built on this fill, which was used as the foundation of the road, and remains of the road surfaces were found further north of the *proteichisma*. At the same time, the entire N line of the *proteichisma* was covered.

Building material of the tower: poros without binding material (3 lower courses) and reddish limestone (upper course).

Building material of *proteichisma*: 1: Conglomerate stones and limestone at the upper preserved E part.

Composition of moat fill: The filling of the moat is not the usual one: it consisted of horizontal natural deposits of clay and sand, without many sherds or building materials.

Other finds: A drain was incorporated into the construction of the two upper courses of the S line of *proteichisma*, with a N-S orientation for the drainage of rain water into the area of the moat; it was founded in fill which had covered the area between wall and *proteichisma*. Part of a monumental public building of the 2nd c. A.D. in a poor state of preservation.

TH90 – 10 TSAMI KARATASOU (plot)

Sources: Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 3N-154; Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1/10A/ Φ12/2039/17-9-1991.

Year of excavation: 1955.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NW-SE orientation.

Height of wall: 2 courses.

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill.

TH91 – 12 PARTHENONOS (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1967i); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 3N-154, 5. (see Fig. 76).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1966 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NW-SE orientation, tower.

Dating of wall: 4th c. B.C.

Foundations of wall: Onto a Middle Geometric cemetery.

Foundations of tower: Within staggered bedrock cuttings 1.60 m. high. Foundation level: 3.60 m.

Length / Width of tower: 6.70 / 6.30 m. (original) (up to 4 courses).

Type of wall: [All-stone base upon new foundations].

Type of tower: Embedded into the exterior face of the wall [All-stone base].

Masonry of wall: [Isodomic. Headers and stretchers].

Masonry of tower: Isodomic.

Building material of tower: [Conglomerate].

Other finds: Middle Geometric cemetery (9 graves of the 8th c. B.C.), three cleaning shafts of a water system which communicated with each other and were filled with deposits of the Late Classical to Hellenistic period. The fill contained nine spindle whorls, a 4th c. B.C. kantharos, a small Subgeometric prochous, a miniature undecorated plate, two small black-glazed lekythoi, three stamped handles, two terracotta protomes.

TH92 – 10–12 PARTHENONOS (road)

Sources: Alexandri (1972g); Alexandri (1972h).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1970, 1971 / Opening of a trench by the Sewerage Company of Athens (ΟΑΠ).

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NW-SE orientation, *proteichisma*.

Dating of wall: 4th c. B.C.

Dating of *proteichisma*: 1: Undated phase / 2: Undated repair.

Preservation status on excavation: 1970: The wall was not preserved to its full width. 1971: The wall was found damaged by earlier interventions.

Level of bedrock: 1970: 2.70 m. 1971: 3.80 m.

Foundation level of wall / *proteichisma*: 1970: 2.70 m. / 3.80

m.

Width / Height of wall: 3 m. (original) / 1970: 1 course. 1971: 3 courses.

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 10.20 m.

Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 1: 1.40 m., 2: 0.50 m. / 3.45 m. or 7 courses.

Type of wall: [1970: All-stone base].

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Pseudo-isodomic. A gap 0.20 m. wide at the third course from the top of the *proteichisma* was perhaps for drainage.

Building material of *proteichisma*: 1: Conglomerate and poros.

TH93 – 19–25 PARTHENONOS (plot)

Sources: Liagouras (1973–1974); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 3N-154, 5. (see Figs. 70, 115).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1973 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with an E-W orientation, stairs, postern, tower.

Dating of wall: 1: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.) / 2: 4th c. B.C.

Foundation level of tower: 4.38 m.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 1: 2.98 m. [2.30 m.] / 2: 3.50 m. (original) / 2: 1.05 m. (1–2 courses).

Length of tower: 6.90 m. (original) (1–2 courses).

Type of wall: 1: Double faced wall with inner fill / 2: [All-stone base upon remains of predecessor]. The interior side of the wall appears wider by 1 m. across a length of ca. 11m., likely the position of stairs.

Type of tower: Rectangular, embedded into the exterior face of the wall [2: All-stone base].

Masonry of wall / tower: 2: Isodomic [alternating headers and stretchers].

Building material of wall: [1: Limestone] 2: Poros and conglomerate.

Building material of tower: [2: Conglomerate].

Built-in ancient material: Parts of two marble funerary stelai (core), a marble stele (in destruction layer), and an inscribed marble base.

Other finds: Curved retaining wall, length 33 m. and preserved height 1 m., which was interpreted as the E part of the peribolos of a sanctuary. Immediately next to it lies a paved lane and a drain. Two poros bases and substructures of a poros building, all dating before the 4th c. B.C. wall. Remains of domestic walls, two wells.

TH94 – 20 ERECHTHEIOU (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1967g); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 2N-153, 1; Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/1. (see Figs. 42, 72).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1965–1966 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with an E-W orientation.

Dating of wall: 1: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.) / [2: Peloponnesian War / 3: Kononian] / 4: 2nd half of 4th c. B.C.

Slope of ground: W-E.

Foundations of wall: On bedrock. Foundation level: 3.70–5.30 m.

Length / Width / Height of wall: N: 18 m. S: 13.50 m. (see Archive of the Third EPKA) / 3 m. (original) / 2.75 m. (stone base) + 1.20 m. (brick superstructure at W) (see Archive of the Third EPKA).

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill of small stones and stone chips / [4: All-stone base upon remains of predecessor].

Masonry of wall: 1: Polygonal to irregular trapezoidal. The blocks have more than four sides, which are straight and meet at well-defined corners. The exterior surfaces of the blocks are sometimes roughly dressed and sometimes smoothed [The gaps at the joints are filled with plugs]. 4 / Isodomic [headers and stretchers].

Building material of wall: 1. [Poros and other material in secondary use]. 2, 3: Hard stone [limestone, the largest measuring 1.45 m. long and 0.87 m. high], brick superstructure [today the fill is visible from both sides of the wall]. [4: Conglomerate].

Other finds: Submycenaean, Middle and Late Geometric burials, remains of a pre-Classical house and a Late Classical building which touched the N side of the Late Hellenistic wall and the continuation of the retaining wall of the moat to the N, see below at site TH96. The fill contained: two kantharoi, four small phialai, three small lekythoi, three plates, a pyxis, two miniature cups, a domestic vessel, nine lamps, 52 loom weights, an

anthemion antefix, three spindle whorls, and three bronze coins (one of the Athenian cleruchy of Peparethos, 2nd c. B.C.).

TH95 – 20–22 ERECHTHEIΟΥ (road)

Sources: Alexandri (1973–1974b).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1974 / Opening of a trench by the Sewerage Company of Athens (ΟΑΠ).

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with an E-W orientation.

Dating of wall: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.).

Foundations of wall: On bedrock (3.30 m.).

Width / Height of wall: 3 m. (original) / 1.75 m.

Type of wall: Two faces with inner fill of small stones and stone chips.

Masonry of wall: Polygonal.

Building material of wall: Hard stone.

Other finds: A Submycenaean grave, a Hellenistic stone wall, 0.50m. thick, 0.95 m. high, in fill at a depth of 2.05 m.; a curved Roman wall 0.40 m. thick, in fill at a depth of 2.75 m., of rough stones and mortar, and a terracotta drain of inverted-Π section embedded into the wall. An earlier wall of rough stones, 0.65 m. thick and 0.65 m. high, at a depth of 3.35 m.

TH96 – 18 ERECHTHEIΟΥ (plot)

Sources: Parlama (1990); Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/12. (see Fig. 82).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1989–1990 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* and later conversion into a wall with an E-W orientation, moat, retaining wall of moat, tower.

Dating of wall: 1: Late Hellenistic (*proteichisma* conversion) / 2: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.) (upper courses of the older *proteichisma*, mainly E).

Dating of tower: 6th c. A.D. or Late Roman period; one of the graves dug into the area of the moat (grave no. 10) had been cut exactly in two by the W wall of the tower. The grave was without goods. Its immediate neighbour, however, found at the same depth (grave no. 9), dated to the Late Roman period and provides a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the tower. (Late

Roman, see Archive of the Third EPKA).

Dating of *proteichisma*: 1: 4th c. B.C. / 2: Late Hellenistic: conversion of the *proteichisma* into a wall.

Dating of the moat fill: Filled in at least three different periods, the first Late Hellenistic, when the *proteichisma* was converted into a wall; some horizontal fills were observed, principally of clay, thrown down from the wall and the retaining wall.

Dating of moat retaining wall: 4th c. B.C. (contemporary with the *proteichisma*).

Composition / Slope of ground: Water was reported high up in the excavation.

Level of bedrock: 8.60 m.

Foundation level of tower / *proteichisma* / retaining wall of moat: 8.80 m.

Foundation of tower: Within moat, onto a Late Roman grave.

Foundation of *proteichisma* / retaining wall of moat: Within bedrock cuttings 0.20 m.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 19 m. / 4 m. (original) / 7.52 m. (16 courses).

Length / Width / Height of tower: 5.20 m. / 5.20 m. / (4.20 m. / 4.20 m. with wall thickness 1 m.) / 7.52 m.

Thickness of tower wall: 1 m.

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 10 m.

Width of moat: 9.25 m.

Length / Height of retaining wall of moat: 9.25 m. / 6.60 m. (14 courses).

Type of tower: The N side touches the exterior face of the *proteichisma*/wall. Its floor was found at the level of the 3rd course of the wall from the top, at a depth of 2.70–2.80 m.; the foundations of the tower reached 6 m.

Type of *proteichisma* / retaining wall of moat: Strong constructions which connect at a right angle and face the corresponding walls of the moat to its full height. Dimensions of blocks: 1.25 x 0.47 m.

Masonry of *proteichisma* / retaining wall of moat: Isodomic. Headers and stretchers.

Building material of wall: 2: Small unworked stones throughout the thickness of the wall.

Building material of tower: Blocks in secondary use, irregular stones, tiles. Binder: much mortar.

Building material of *proteichisma*: 1: Conglomerate, mainly (average dimensions: 1.25 x 0.47 m.) and some poros in secondary use (see Archive of the Third EPKA).

Building material of moat retaining wall: Conglomerate (mainly).

Built-in ancient material: A small worn head, part of a Hellenistic funerary stele (W wall of tower).

Other finds: The area of the moat was used for burials continuously from the 1st to the 5th c. A.D.

TH97 – 25 ERECHTHEIOU (road, north)

Sources: Threpsiades (1950) 71; Miliadis (1955); Vanderpool (1956) 267; Travlos (1960) 53–54, 144, n. 6; Travlos (1971) 160; Brouskari (1980) 14–16; Tsouklidou-Penna (1982) 23; Parlama (1990) 33, n. 4; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 2N-153, θ (1-06-1955, 25-05-1955).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1950 / Excavation by the Municipality of Athens. 1955 / Opening of a drainage trench (ΥΔΡΕΞ) and asphaltting by the Municipality of Athens. 1982 / Opening of a trench by the Athens Water Supply and Sewerage Company (ΕΥΔΑΠ).

Fortification elements: Wall (TH), gate (E and W sides, stone threshold with traces of wheel ruts), crossing road.

Dating of wall: 1950 (before the discovery of the gate): ‘earlier than the 4th c. B.C. (Kononian, 394 B.C.?)’ (see Threpsiades (1950) 71).

Dating of gate: 1955: 1 (E): Middle of 4th c. B.C. or Lykourgan, according to Miliadis; Kononian, according to Travlos / 2 (W): Repair 3rd quarter of 4th c. B.C. (20–30 years later than the E part), according to Miliadis [see Brouskari 1980, 15: after the battle of Olynthos, 348 B.C. (E, W)]; the absence of ceramic finds from the Themistoklean period was noted.

Dating of road: Pre-Classical to Hellenistic.

Preservation status on excavation: The construction of a large double-built water channel in 1950 probably destroyed some ancient remains. The better preserved part of the gate was the E, which was also the older; part of the mud-brick superstructure was also preserved.

Foundations of tower: 1 (E): On two Geometric graves.

Width of wall: 1 (E): 3.20 m. / 2 (W): 2.80 m.

Type of wall: 1 (E): Double faced wall with inner fill.

Type of gate: [courtyard type] 1 (E): width of the gate not identified / 2 (W): Width of gate: 2 m. according to Miliadis, 2.60 m. according to Brouskari. The W side had three mortises for the reception of a wooden casing and a deep tenon for the pivot of the door leaf. In the middle of the stone threshold was a raised part of the stone to stop the two door leaves.

Building material of wall: 1 (E): Large poros blocks / 2 (W): Supplemented with material in secondary use.

Other finds: Submycenaean grave, a Protogeometric, Middle and Late Geometric cemetery. A grave peribolos of the 3rd quarter of 4th c. B.C., contemporary with the repair of the second phase of the wall. A water channel of the end of 4th c. B.C., crossing through the west part of the gate. A terracotta drain with material in secondary use, such as funerary stelai of the 4th c. B.C. Another Late Roman terracotta drain destroying part of the threshold of the gate.

TH98 – 25 ERECHTHEIOU (road, south)

Sources: Miliadis (1955); Travlos (1960) 53–54, 144 (n. 6); Brouskari (1980) 15–16; Tsouklidou-Penna (1982) 23; Parlama (1990) 33, n. 4; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 2N-153, 0 (1-06-1955, 25-05-1955).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1955 / Opening of a drainage trench (ΥΔΡΕΞ) and asphaltting by the Municipality of Athens. 1982 / Opening of a trench by the Athens Water Supply and Sewerage Company (ΕΥΔΑΠ).

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NW-SE orientation, *proteichisma* (?) (only the foundation trench was found).

Dating of wall: 1: 1st half of 2nd c. B.C. (see Miliadis 1955, 42); 338 B.C. after the battle of Chaironeia (see Brouskari 1980, 16), or 2nd half of the 4th c. B.C. (see Travlos (1960) 54) / 2: 6th c. A.D.

Length / Width of wall: 8 m. / ca. 3 m. (original).

Thickness of *proteichisma* (?): 1.30 m.

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill. Segmentation of the core with cross-walls.

Masonry of wall: Careless construction.

Building material of wall: Conglomerate (mainly) and poros.

Other finds: Two Hellenistic water channels of horseshoe-shaped tiles passing through a narrow opening in the wall. The

installation – using of mortar – of a large piece of marble, perhaps a Roman base, blocked these channels probably in the time of Justinian, when the drains were abandoned.

TH99 – 25 ERECHTHEIOU (plot)

Sources: Stavropoulos (1965c); Brouskari (1980); Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/ΓΕΝΙΚΑ; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 2N-153, 4.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1964 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NE-SW & NW-SE orientation, arm of a gate, tower (?).

Dating of wall: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.) (see Stavropoulos) of the middle of 4th c. B.C. (see Brouskari).

Composition of ground: Soft rock.

Depth of discovery: A few centimetres from the ground level.

Foundations of wall: On soft bedrock. Foundation level: 1.32–1.34 m.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 2.50 m [W arm of gate] / 2.75–2.95 m. (original) [2.10 m.: wall of the N extension of the arm of the gate, see Travlos Archive] / 1.50–1.60 m. (original) (3 courses).

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill and brick superstructure. Core: mixture of rough stones of various sizes, marble fragments and clay.

Masonry of wall: The lower course projected 0.10 m. from the two overlying courses, creating a wider base to aid the stability of the construction (W arm of gate).

Mud-brick superstructure: Possible brick fill of the two faces of the wall at the E.

Building material of wall: Poros.

Built-in ancient material: An inscribed marble base of a Archaic funerary stele and an inscribed plinth from an Archaic statue (core).

Other finds: Two Late Geometric graves, one intact and within the TH wall line and the other outside, and looted. A drain, elliptical in section, in a SE-NW direction, length 4.75 m. The ancient fill was almost non-existent because of the churning up of the soil by modern buildings. One year after the excavation, an almost square

room of the Classical period was discovered in the uncovered area of the plot (Andreiomenou (1966a), which belonged to a larger complex and had very careful masonry of polygonal stones of medium size. The construction of the interior faces was poor, from small and irregular stones. It is unknown if it is related to the adjacent gate.

TH100 – 21–23 ERECHTHEIOU (plot)

Sources: Philippaki (1966a).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1964–1965 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall of the 2nd c. B.C. with a NW-SE orientation.

Dating of wall: Hellenistic (2nd c. B.C.).

Depth of discovery: 0.45 m.

Level of bedrock: 1 m. (at the tomb peribolos).

Length / Width / Height of wall: 2 m. / 3 m. (original) / 1 m. (2 courses).

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill of irregular stones, bricks and marble fragments.

Masonry of wall: Stretchers.

Building material of wall: Conglomerate.

Other finds: Part of a Submycenaean and Protogeometric cemetery, a continuation of the water channel and grave peribolos of the 4th c. B.C. (see site TH97).

TH101 – 34 PROPYLAION (plot)

Sources: Lyngouri-Tolia (1990a); Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/5. (see Fig. 123).

Year of excavation: 1990.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a W-E orientation, road.

Dating of wall: 1: Classical [Probably Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.), see similar arrangement of poros blocks in the foundation course at site TH102] / 2: 1st half of 2nd c. B.C.

Dating of road: Late Roman (sherds of the early 3rd c. A.D.).

Preservation status on excavation: The wall of the 2nd c. B.C. was damaged by a party wall to the N but also by the previous building on the site.

Slope of ground: Sloping ground with a slight elevation, thanks to which almost all the antiquities were found above the modern road surface level.

Height of discovery: 1: + 2.36 m. / 2: + 3.52 m.

Foundations of wall: 1: On bedrock / 2: In fill, 0.10–0.15 m. thick, which covered the surface of the older building phase.

Foundation level: 1: + 1.84 m. / 2: + 2.50 m.

Foundation of road: On remains of the wall.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 1: 2.85 m. / 3 m. 1 course. 2: 9.80 m. / 3 m. / 0.80 m.

Type of wall: 1: [All-stone base] / 2: Double faced wall (the fill had been removed).

Masonry of wall: 1: Headers of poros. 2: Unequal conglomerate blocks. Bits of damaged poros and conglomerate blocks were used as wedges to plug the gaps at the joints.

Building material of wall: 1: Yellowish poros / 2: White limestone (S part) and conglomerate, perhaps in secondary use (N part).

Other finds: Cemetery of the Late Archaic, Classical and 2nd half of 3rd c. A.D. (S of wall). A wall oriented NE-SW of mixed material in secondary use, length 1.45 and 0.40 m. thick, which to the W formed an obtuse angle with a block founded in broken tiles. A road, perhaps Late Roman, of earth, broken up poros (0.15 m. thick) and sherds of the early 3rd c. A.D. (NW of the plot, depth 2.78 m.). Foundations of an undated building, oriented E-W, with a small section of marble revetment on its S side; founded at a depth of 2 m., 2.38 m. long and 0.45–2 m. thick (S of road). A channel, also undated. The ancient fill contained pottery fragments of the Submycenaean, Geometric and Late Archaic periods.

TH102 – 40 DRAKOU AND 9 SOPHRONISKOU (plot)

Sources: Kokkoliou (1997b); Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/7. (see Figs. 48, 126).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1997 / Construction of a private house.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with an E-W orientation.

Dating of wall: [1. Probably Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.); presence of poros blocks in secondary use in the foundation

course] 2 / End of 4th c. B.C.

Depth / Height of discovery: E: 1.10 m. / W: + 0.60 m. from the surface of the pavement.

Foundation of wall: On bedrock.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 8.80 m. / 2.60 m. (original) / E: 0.90 m., W: 1.04 m.

Type of wall: [All-stone base].

Masonry of wall: [Poros header blocks, a limestone stretcher].

Building material of wall: [Yellowish poros blocks in secondary use with *anathyrosis*] with *periteneia* (lower courses), and reddish limestone (upper course).

Other finds: Tile grave (N of the wall).

TH103 – DRAKOU AND MOUSON (road)

Sources: Threpsiades (1953) 61; Third Archaeological Region of Athens (1963) 41; Lyngouri-Tolia (1991); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder A-147, 3 (1953) and 2N-153, 3 (1962).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1953 / Investigation of the fortification line. 1962 / Opening of a drainage trench (ΥΔΡΕΞ). 1991 / Excavation works by the Hellenic Telecommunications Organization (OTE).

Fortification elements: Wall (1953, 1991, TH) with an E-W orientation, tower (1962).

Dating of wall: 1953: 1: Middle of 4th c. B.C., 'compared to other similar examples' (see Threpsiades (1953) / 2: Repeated repairs.

Dating of tower: 1962: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.).

Preservation status on excavation: 1953: Excellent.

Depth of discovery: 1991: 0.96–1.03 m. (Mouson street).

Foundations of wall: Within bedrock cuttings (level: 1.30 m.).

Length / Width / Height of wall: 1953: 8.50 m. 1991: 2.17 m. / 1953: 3.60 m. (original), 3.87 m. (see Travlos Archive). 1991: 0.75 m. / 1953: 2.60 m.

Masonry of wall: 1991: Blocks varied as to their material and size.

Building material of wall: 1953: 1: Limestone (see Threpsiades (1953), ['limestone blocks and polygonal poros blocks as at Eleusis' (see Travlos Archive, A-147, 3)]. 1991: Limestone, poros, schist.

TH104 – 44 DRAKOU (road)

Sources: Third Archaeological Region of Athens (1963) 41; ΔΕΑΜ Archive, Box 781.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1962 / Opening of a drainage trench (ΥΔΡΕΞ).

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NW-SE orientation.

Dating of wall: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.).

TH105 – SOUTHWEST FOOT OF THE HILL OF THE MUSES

Sources: Thompson/Scranton (1943) 330, n. 53, plan XIV.

Year of excavation: 1943.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NE-SW orientation (2.50 m. W of tower C7 of the *diateichisma*), a tower 70 m. W of tower C7.

Dating of wall / tower: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.) [Perhaps Kononian, based on the building material].

Width of wall: 3 m.

Length x Width of tower: 5 x 3 m.

Type of wall: Double faced wall (based on foundation cuttings).

Building material of wall: Slightly polygonal limestone blocks.

TH106 – 6 AVANTON (plot)

Sources: Unpublished excavation.

Year / Reason for excavation: 2005 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: The fortification line passes through this plot with a SE-NW orientation. The location of the discovery might suggest that this section coincides with the line of the *proteichisma* or to its later reconstruction in the Valerian period.

TH107 – 31 ERYSICHTHONOS AND NILEOS (plot)

Sources: Noack (1907) 508. The results of the 2018 excavation are unpublished.

Year / Reason for identification: 1906 / Investigation of the continuation of the wall remains to the S. 2018 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NW-SE orientation, used in the foundations of an old house, perhaps the old Porioti property.

TH108 – 29 ERSICHTHONOS AND NILEOS (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1967h); Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/1. (see Fig. 75).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1966 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NW-SE orientation, tower (see part of the tower at site TH109), intramural ring-road.

Dating of wall / tower: Late 4th c. B.C. [Kononian: see KAS Archive, Act 13 / 10-5-1966, Archive of the Third EPKA, 1066 / 3-5-1966].

Level of bedrock: 0.70–1 m. (Erysichthonos street), 1.70–1.90 m. (Nileos street).

Foundations of wall: On a Late Geometric cemetery.

Foundations of tower: Within bedrock cutting, 2 courses of blocks deeper than the foundation level of the wall. Foundation level: 2.45 m. (Erysichthonos street), 3.45 m. (Nileos street).

Length of wall: 12 m. (Archive of the Third EPKA) (1 course).

Length / Width / Heights of tower: 8.15 m. (restored, based on site TH109) / 4.66 m. (original) / 4 courses.

Type of wall / tower: [All-stone base on new foundations].

Masonry of wall / tower: Isodomic [alternating headers and stretchers].

Building material of wall / tower: Poros / Conglomerate.

Other finds: A Protogeometric grave, Late Geometric cemetery and an Archaic grave. A building of 4th c. B.C. (or Hellenistic; in the publication of the excavation the two datings are given) of dressed rectangular poros blocks, 3 courses high; the foundations on rough stones restricting the width of the intramural ring-road (to 2.20 m.). A floor with plaster and small stones and a drain below the floor (and both below the building). The fill contained a gold earring, a pyxis and two oinochoe, and a large number of Geometric sherds, two Panathenaic amphorae

and a third in fragments, 12 stamped amphora handles, loom weights, part of an Archaic marble sphinx and three worn coins, two of the 3rd c. B.C.

TH109 – 29 ERYSICHTHONOS AND NILEOS (road)

Sources: Alexandri (1968c).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1967 / Opening of a drainage trench (ΥΔΡΕΞ).

Fortification elements: Tower (see part of tower at site TH108).

Height of tower: 2 courses.

Type of tower: [All-stone base on new foundations].

TH110 – 27 ERYSICHTHONOS (plot)

Sources: Tsouklidou-Penna (1983b).

Year of excavation: 1982.

Fortification elements: Intramural ring-road with a NW-SE orientation.

Slope of ground: Sharp downward slope from S-N.

Other finds: Two Protogeometric pit graves cut into bedrock. Parts of mainly Classical and Late Classical houses, a well and a cistern. A wall dating after the Late Classical period, built along the road and limiting its original width.

TH111 – 25 ERYSICHTHONOS (road)

Sources: Threpsiades (1953); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder D-150, 3, 4 (3-9-1953, 29-10-1953); Travlos Photographic Archive (Folder 'Threpsiades Archive', red file, Wall at Erysichthonos street, ph. nos. 2, 3; on the back of ph. no. 2 is written: 'Part of the wall E, opposite the dead end of the side street').

Year / Reason for excavation: 1953 / Joining to the sewage system by the Municipality of Athens.

Fortification elements: Wall (N, S) (TH) with a NW-SE orientation.

Preservation status on excavation: The wall was found separated into two sections, as the part in between had been destroyed earlier by the laying of a drain.

Depth of discovery: 0.30 m.

Length / Height of wall: 1 m. (S), 0.50 m. (N) / 1 m. (2 courses).

Building material of wall: Conglomerate.

Other finds: Two graves, outside the wall line.

TH112 – 20–24 ERYSICHTHONOS (plot)

Sources: Noack (1907) 501-506; Judeich (1931²) 132; Photographic Archive of the German Archaeological Institute, phs. 359, 360, 361, 363, 364, 365 (outer face), 366 (outer face). (see Figs. 75–76).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1907 / Danger to antiquities from construction in the area.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NW-SE & NE-SW orientation, tower.

Dating of wall: Kononian (394 B.C.) (Phase II, according to Noack).

Dating of tower: Last third of 4th c. B.C. (Phase III, according to Noack).

Preservation status on excavation: Before the excavation, three stones of the tower were visible on the surface of the ground, forming a semicircle.

Foundation depth of tower: 0.80 m. higher than the wall.

Height of wall: 2 m. [4 courses (outer face)].

Length / Width / Height of tower: 6.30 m. / 4.60 m. / 4 courses.

Type of tower: Semicircular.

Masonry of wall: Polygonal limestone with plugs at the gaps (foundation course). Decorative working with a pointed chisel on the outer faces.

Masonry of tower: [Isodomic].

Building material of tower: Acropolis limestone (foundation course).

Other finds: Traces of a makeshift parallel wall between the two faces of the wall.

TH113 – 18 ERYSICHTHONOS (road)

Sources: Threpsiades (1953) 61–65; Vanderpool (1954) 231; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder D-150, 3 (5-11-53, 11-8-1965); Travlos

Photographic Archive (Folder 'Threpsiades Archive', red file, Wall at Erysichthonos street, phs. nos. 1, 4). (see Figs. 49, 51).

Year / Reason for excavations: 1953 / The identification of the wall line.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NE-SW orientation [1953: the finds were thought to be of a gate tower].

Dating of wall: 1: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.) / 2: repeated repairs, ceramics of the 4th and 3rd c. B.C. in the fill in front of the inner face of the wall.

Composition / Slope of ground: 1953: the bedrock was decayed and the fill sandy throughout the whole area of the course of the wall, from this excavation up to the hill of Agios Athanasios.

Width / Height of wall: 3–3.30 m. (original) / 3 courses.

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill from all kinds of material, rough stones, mud-brick, etc.

Masonry of wall: Thick transverse walls connected the two faces of the wall at intervals. Decorative dressing with a pointed chisel on the outer faces of the blocks.

Building material of wall: 1: Large blocks.

Built-in ancient material: An inscribed marble base of the late 6th c. B.C., part of a kouros of white marble of the late 6th c. B.C., a small section of a funerary relief stele with representation of the head of a boxer of the middle of 6th c. B.C. (core). A base for the Samian Aischros, 5th c. B.C (lowest course).

TH114 – 54 IRAKLEIDON AND ERSYCHTHONOS (pedestrian street)

Sources: Noack (1907) 506–507; Lyngouri-Tolia (1985a); Lyngouri-Tolia (1985b); Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/7. (see Figs. 38, 122).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1906 / Danger to antiquities from construction in the area. 1985 / Opening of a trench by Public Corporation for Housing & Urban Development for works on the pedestrianisation of the street.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NE-SW orientation, two buttresses, moat, tower, extramural ring-road.

Dating of tower: 6th c. A.D.

Dating of *proteichisma*: 1: 4th c. B.C. (the 7 lower courses and

the S buttress) / 2: Repair after the 4th c. B.C. (1st course and N buttress).

Dating of moat: 4th c. B.C. (fill of the late 4th–early 3rd c. B.C.).

Preservation status on excavation: 1985: A modern drain had destroyed the N buttress of the *proteichisma* and also damaged its NE section as well as a small part of the S buttress. The first course of the *proteichisma* (later repair) was found entirely destroyed.

Composition / Slope of ground: 1907: Natural hollow. 1985: Abundant rising water.

Depth of discovery: *Proteichisma*, N buttress: 0.16 m. S buttress: 1.25 m. Tower: 0.23 m.

Foundations of *proteichisma*: 1907: Very strong, deep foundations. 1985: 2: The upper course was founded together with the N buttress in fill.

Foundations of tower: The outer W wall was founded 1.25 m. deeper than the S wall of the tower.

Length / Width / Height of tower: 6.50 m. (original) / 3.75 m. (preserved) / 2.15 m. (W wall).

Thickness of tower wall: 1.20 m.

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 7.60 m. / 2 m. (original) / 2.90 m. (8 courses).

Width / Depth of moat: 9 m. (revealed) / 2.30 m. (revealed).

Type of tower: Embedded into the outer face of the wall.

Buttresses: The two buttresses were built on the inner side of the *proteichisma*, 2.75 m. apart. They belong to two different phases. The S buttress was 2.50 m. long, 1.30 m. wide, and 1.20 m. high (3 courses).

Masonry of *proteichisma*: Alternating headers and stretchers. The rectangular limestone blocks of the 3rd course of the *proteichisma* from the top had four-sided dowel holes on their W faces.

Building material of tower: Small irregular stones. Binder: much mortar.

Building material of *proteichisma*: 1: Conglomerate (mainly) and limestone (3rd course from the top).

Other finds: 1985: A drain of the same building material as the wall (poros blocks in secondary use), founded at a depth of 0.12 m. above workshop remains of the late 4th and early 3rd c. B.C., and destroyed by the construction of the tower.

TH115 – 17 ERYSICHTHONOS (road)

Sources: Noack (1907) 501, fig. 21, point a; Photographic Archive of the German Archaeological Institute, phs. A.B. 354–357. (see Fig. 37).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1906 / Investigation of the ancient blocks that were visible on the surface of the road.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NE-SW orientation.

Dating of wall: 1: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.) / 2: Kononian (394 B.C.) / 3: Undated phase / 4: Undated phase.

Height of wall: 3 courses (outer face), 4–5 courses (inner face).

Masonry of wall: The polygonal blocks had small, usually vertical decorative dressings with a pointed chisel. The horizontal surfaces for the reception of the mud-brick wall were visible.

Building material of wall: Inner face: 1: Architectural members in secondary use / 2: Polygonal wall / 3: Conglomerate blocks / 4: Conglomerate blocks. External face: Two courses of rectangular blocks with bulges. Four limestone blocks at the upper course correspond with the lowest part of the prominent foundation course of the inner face (phases of the external face were not distinguishable). It has very well dressed edges with surfaces lightly worked with a chisel.

TH116 – 17 ERYSICHTHONOS AND 52 IRAKLEIDON (plot)

Sources: École Française d'Athènes (1921) 500; Kastriotis (1924–1925) 20; Travlos (1988) 36, fig. 32; Travlos Photographic Archive (Folder 'Threpsiades Archive', red file, Erysichthonos and Irakleidon).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1921, 1976 (see E. Spathari, *AD* 37 [1982], B1, 24, n. 2).

Fortification elements: Wall (TH), tower (found off the pavement and outside the basement door of the Korompili dairy, see Travlos Photographic Archive).

Building material of wall: Hellenistic and Roman architectural members in secondary use.

TH117 – 50 IRAKLEIDON (plot)

Sources: Spathari (1982b); Travlos (1988) 36, fig. 32; Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/5. (see Figs 56–58).

Year of excavation: 1982.

Fortification elements: Piraic gate (TH), crossing road with its retaining walls.

Dating of gate: 1: 4th c. B.C. / 2: Later addition of the outer gateway, middle of 4th c. B.C. [A possible earlier phase of the gate is detected at the E side of the gate. This is probably also a Themistoklean phase (479/8 B.C.) because of the building material in secondary use in the foundation course].

Dating of crossing road: Geometric to Hellenistic.

Composition / Slope of ground: A stream passes from the site of the Piraic gate, which was earlier filled in to ensure the stability of the gate structure.

Type of gate: Courtyard type. An outer gateway opened on the axis of the ancient road, leading to an almost square courtyard, 7.50 m. per side. The two walls of the courtyard, N and S, 3 m. thick, were angled towards the centre to enclose the courtyard forming an interior gateway on the axis of the exterior gateway.

Building material of gate: [Material in secondary use and limestone].

TH118 – 15 ERYSICHTHONOS (plot)

Sources: Philippaki (1966b); Travlos (1971) 159; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder D-150, 4 (13-3-1965, 22-3-1965). (see Fig. 68).

Year of excavation: 1965.

Fortification elements: Wall (N, S) with a NE-SW orientation, gate, *proteichisma* with two buttresses, moat, extramural ring-road, crossing road, tower.

Dating of wall: 1: Late 5th c. B.C., probably Kononian (S) / 2: Late 4th c. B.C. (N).

Dating of tower: 6th c. A.D.

Dating of *proteichisma*: 4th c. B.C.

Preservation on excavation: The N part was better preserved, while part of the S had been destroyed by a modern cesspit. The continuation of the 6th c. A.D. square tower was found beneath the foundations of the adjacent property (see below, site TH119).

Composition / Slope of ground: Abundant rising water. The level of the ground towards the wall was raised by three courses over ca. 100 years.

Depth of discovery: Gate: threshold at a depth of 1.90 m.
Proteichisma: 1.30 m. (E), 0.46 m. (N).

Foundations of wall: The first three courses of the wall of the 4th c. B.C. (N) were foundations, as evidenced by their rough treatment; perhaps only the uppermost (4th course) was visible.

Width / Height of wall: 3 m. (original) / 0.95 m. (4 courses).

Length x Width of tower: 5 x 5 m. (original).

Thickness of tower wall: 1.20 m.

Distance between wall and *proteichisma*: 6 m., with the length of the buttress.

Width of *proteichisma*: 4.20 m., minus the length of the buttress.

Type of wall: N: All-stone base on new foundations. S: Double faced wall with inner fill.

Type of tower: Square, built in the outer face of the wall.

Masonry of wall: 1: Rectangular blocks / 2: [N: Isodomic. Alternating headers and stretchers].

Building material of wall: 1: Limestone and poros blocks (S) / 2: Conglomerate blocks and material in secondary use from the 5th c. B.C. (N).

Building material of tower: Small stones. Binder: much mortar.

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate blocks and ancient material in secondary use from the 4th c. B.C.

Built-in ancient material: Architectural members dating before the Persian invasion and an inscribed base (wall). Half-worked poros column drums and a 'beautiful triglyph, complete, with well-preserved colours' (see Philippaki (1966b), 57) of the 4th c. B.C. (*proteichisma*).

Other finds: Drain cut into the rock, below the ancient road.

TH119 – 13 ERYSICHTHONOS (plot)

Sources: Chatzipoulou (1991a); Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/5.

Year of excavation: 1991.

Fortification elements: *Proteichisma* with a NE-SW

orientation, three buttresses, moat.

Dating of *proteichisma*: 1: 4th c. B.C. / 2: Later repairs, undated.

Preservation status on excavation: The two first courses of the *proteichisma* were damaged by constructions (piers, cesspits) of the overlying building.

Depth of discovery: 0.05 m.

Length / Width / Height of *proteichisma*: 9.10 m. / 1.70 m. (largest) / 7 courses.

Buttresses: Touching the first course of the *proteichisma*. The first buttress (N) consisted of poros blocks, the second was 3.50 m. from the first, and the third 1.20 m. from that, built of limestone blocks.

Building material of *proteichisma*: 1: Conglomerate (mainly), poros, architectural members.

Built-in ancient material: Architectural members up to 2 m. long (*proteichisma*).

Contents of moat fill: A large number of Hellenistic and Roman sherds, animal bones, and later building remains. Two funerary amphorae, one containing three pots of the 2nd c. B.C.

TH120 – 37 POULOPOULOU (plot)

Sources: Lyngouri-Tolia (1988); Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/7. (see Fig. 47).

Year of excavation: 1988.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NE-SW orientation.

Dating of wall: 1: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.) / 2: Undated phase.

Preservation status on excavation: The N part of the wall had been violated by the building of a basement in the pre-existing old house, the foundations of which had incorporated blocks of the wall. The then overlying house (39 Pouloupoulou), which has now been demolished, had also been founded on top of the W part of the wall.

Depth of discovery: 1.05 m. (S) and 1.75 m. (N).

Foundations of wall: Within bedrock cuttings. Foundation level: 2.76 m. (S) and 2.26 m. (N).

Length / Width / Height of wall: 14 m. / 3.25 m. (original) / 1.70 m. or 4 courses (S), 0.57 m. or 1 course (N).

Type of wall: 1: [All-stone base] / 2: [All-stone base on new foundations].

Masonry of wall: 1: [Headers] / 2: Headers and stretchers.

Building material of wall: 1: Yellowish poros (footing) / 2: Reddish conglomerate.

Other finds: Fragmentary foundations of makeshift and later constructions (S and E of the wall).

TH121 – 37 POULOPOULOU (road)

Sources: Threpsiades (1953) 63; Travlos Photographic Archive (Folder 'Threpsiades Archive', Petralona, Pouloupoulou tower); Vanderpool (1954) 231; Lyngouri-Tolia (1998). (see Fig. 71).

Year / Reason for excavation: Earlier than 1953. 1998 / Works for connecting the central drainage system.

Fortification elements: 1953: Tower. 1998: Wall (TH) with a NE-SW orientation [a tower according to Threpsiades (1953)].

Preservation status on excavation: 1998: Entirely fragmentary. The third block to the S had been damaged and displaced by a water pipe. The continuation to the N had been destroyed, while a damaged block on the same course did not certainly belong to the fortification.

Depth of discovery: 1998: 0.55 m.

Foundations of wall: 1998: In compact earth. Foundation level: 1.11 m.

Length of wall: 1998: 4.15 m.

Type of wall: 1998: [All-stone base].

Building material of wall: 1998: [Conglomerate]. Length of blocks: 1.26–1.30 m.

Masonry of wall: 1998: [Isodomic. Headers and stretchers].

TH121.1 – 39 POULOPOULOU (plot)

Sources: Unpublished excavation.

Year of excavation: 2015.

Fortification elements: The reconstruction of the fortification line passes through this plot with a NE-SW orientation. The position of the discovery suggests that it is part of the *proteichisma*.

TH122 – 39 POULOPOULOU (road)

Sources: Lyngouri-Tolia (1998).

Year of excavation: 1998.

Fortification elements: Wall [The position of the discovery suggests that it is part of the *proteichisma* with a NE-SW orientation, a continuation of its positions further south (see TH118, TH119) and corresponding with the buttresses at the same sites].

Preservation status on excavation: To the N, the ancient finds had been destroyed by a modern drain. To the S, they continued normally.

Depth of discovery: 1.34 m.

Foundations of *proteichisma* (?): On bedrock (level: 2.20 m.), in shallow cuttings (N part).

Length of *proteichisma* (?): 1 m. (revealed).

Width / Height of *proteichisma* (?): 4 m. (together with the buttress) / 1.83 m. (5 courses).

Masonry of *proteichisma* (?): Stepped laying of courses (W) [Isodomic. Headers and stretchers].

Building material of *proteichisma*: Conglomerate and some poros, likely in secondary use.

Other finds: Tile grave.

TH123 – 7 ERYSICHTHONOS (plot)

Sources: Philios (1903).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1901 / Excavation for foundations of a building at the Kalamis property.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH), inner face. An all-stone wall of poros blocks was also reported with an E-W orientation and a layer with the same blocks in the form of a floor 3–4 m. to the S and perpendicular to the first wall [a tower?].

Dating of wall: Themistoklean (479/8 B.C.) [Probably Kononian, based on the building material].

Height of wall: 1–1.50 m.

Type of wall: The two faces of the wall were 1.60–1.80 m apart. This construction is paralleled at the Kerameikos.

Masonry of wall: Polygonal.

Building material of wall: Gray limestone (interior, E face).

TH124 – EPTACHALKOU AND EPHESTION (road)

Sources: Threpsiades (1953) 63; Vanderpool (1954) 231; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder D-150, 1; Travlos Photographic Archive (Folder 'Threpsiades Archive', 'Tower on Aphaias street'); Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10Α/ΓΕΝΙΚΑ/13-6-1978.

Year of excavation: 1953.

Fortification elements: Wall (TH) with a NE-SW orientation, tower.

Height of wall / tower: 2 courses / 2 courses.

Type of wall / tower: [All-stone base].

Masonry of wall: [Isodomic].

Masonry of tower: [Isodomic. Headers and stretchers].

Building material of wall / tower: [Conglomerate blocks and material in secondary use].

2 The *Diateichisma*

DT – HILLS OF THE MUSES, PNYX, AND NYMPHS

Sources: Koumanoudes (1862) 6; Pervanoglu (1863) 532; Skias (1898); Noack (1907) 508; Thompson (1936) 192–200; Thompson/Scranton (1943) 301–383; Travlos (1971) 160–161; Thompson (1982); Conwell (2008), 178–182, 193–194; Lazaridou/Dakoura-Vogiatzoglou (2008) 98–101. (see Figs. 26, 84–86).

Year of excavation: 1936–1937 (along the three Hills range) / 2008 (N and S of the East Stoa, Pnyx Hill).

Fortification elements: Wall (DT, MF, WP) with a general NW-SE orientation, towers, gateways, roads.

Dating of walls: 1 (DT): After 300 B.C. – mid 280s B.C. [see Thompson (1982), 146, n. 44; Conwell (2008) 178], or late 4th c. B.C. [see Thompson/Scranton (1943) 334; Lazaridou/Dakoura-Vogiatzoglou (2008) 99–101] / 2 (MF): 294 B.C. / 3 (WP): Early 2nd – late 270s B.C. [see Conwell (2008) 193] or 200 B.C. [see Thompson (1982), 146] or late 3rd c. B.C. [see Thompson/Scranton (1943) 360] / 4: After the invasion of Sulla (87/6 B.C.) / 5 (V): (3rd c. A.D.) / 6: 6th c. A.D. (Justinianic) / 7: Middle 12th – early 13th c. A.D.

Dating of towers: 1 (DT), 2 (MF), 3 (WP): see above 'Dating of walls' / 2 (WP): Early 2nd c. – late 170s B.C. [see Conwell (2008) 193] or 200 B.C. [see Thompson (1982), 146], or late 3rd c. B.C. [see

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 360] / 3 (V): 3rd c. A.D. / 4: 6th c. A.D. / 5: Mid 12th – early 13th c. A.D.

Dating of gates: 1 (DT): same as above 'Dating of walls' / 2: WP: Early 2nd c.–late 170s B.C. (see Conwell) or 200 B.C. [see Thompson (1982), 146] or late 3rd c. B.C. [see Thompson/Scranton (1943) 360] / 3 (V): 3rd c. A.D. / 4: 6th c. A.D. / 5: Mid-12th–early 13th c. A.D.

Dating of road: Early 3rd – mid 2nd c. B.C. (located 30 m. S of tower C1, S of the Pnyx).

Foundations of walls: 1 (DT), 2 (MF): In bedrock cuttings, or in bedrock supplemented with small stones and earth, or founded on hard rock without prior preparations, or onto the earlier foundation trenches of houses and drains. The foundations were preceded by the demolition of houses in the area of the Pnyx / 6 (6th c. A.D.): Onto two Early Christian cemeteries of the 4th – 6th c. A.D.

Width of walls: 1 (DT): 2.75–3.40 m. / 2 (MF): 2–3.50 m. / 3 (WP): 1.35–2 m. 5 (V): 3 m.

Length x Width of towers: 1 (DTX): 8.50 x 6.80 m. (C1), 8 x 8 m. (C3), 8 x 12m. (N), 8 m. (S) (C4), 8 m. (diam.) (C5), 8 x 8 m. (C6) / 2 (MF): 9.50 x 14 m. (D1), 11 x 9.50 m. (D2) / 3 (WP): 9.30 x 9.30 m. (W1), 11 x 9 m. (W2), 11 x 10 m. (W3), 8.50 x 8 m. (W5), 10.80 x 9.40m. (N), 12 m. (S) (W6), 9.60x 8 m. (W7) / 5 (6th c. A.D.): 5.40 x 4 m. (M2), 6 x 5 m. (M3), 7.20 x 6.60 m. (M4).

Thickness of tower walls: 2 (MF): 2 m. (D1) / 3 (WP): 2–2.50m. (W2), 2 m. (W3, W6) / 5 (6th c. A.D.): 1–1.40 m.

Type of walls: 1 (DT), 2 (MF): Double faced wall with inner fill of stone chips and earth, and the core divided by cross-walls / 3 (WP): Solid masonry, buttresses / 6 (6th c. A.D.): Mortared rubble.

Type of gate: C3: 1 (DT): Courtyard type / 2 (WP): Courtyard type whose open exterior side was later closed off with a second gate between the two outer towers.

Masonry of walls: 1 (DT), 2 (MF): Isodomic, two stretcher blocks alternating with one header or without a pattern, *periteneia* 0.10 m. / 3 (WP): Isodomic, alternating one stretcher and one header, *periteneia* 0.10 m. on the vertical and lower horizontal sides, with generally flat surfaces in the centre.

Building material of walls: 1 (DT): Conglomerate blocks, length 1.35, width 0.48–0.50, and height 0.65 m., and material in secondary use / 2 (MF): Conglomerate blocks, height of 1st course: 0.45 m., 2nd course: 0.65 m. / 3 (WP): White poros blocks, length

1.35, width 0.65, height 0.40–0.50 m. and conglomerate in secondary use / 5 (V): Material in secondary use (mainly white poros blocks) / 6 (6th c. A.D.): Mixed material in secondary use, connected with strong mortar.

Building material of gate: 1 (DT): C3: Limestone, Hymettian marble in secondary use / 2 (WP): white poros, material in secondary use / 3 (V): Material without mortar / 4 (6th c. A.D.): Mortared rubble.

Building material of tower: 1 (DT), 2 (MF): Conglomerate blocks / 3 (WP): White poros blocks and conglomerate in secondary use / 4 (V): Material in secondary use (mainly white poros) 5 / (6th c. A.D.): Mixed material in secondary use. Binder: strong mortar.

Contents of moat (?) fill: A large amount of pottery and animal bone, mainly of horses (trench N of Agios Demetrios Loubardiaris) within fill 4.5m. deep, 1st half of 1st c. A.D.

3.1 Valerian wall – Eastern arm

V1 – OLD PARLIAMENT

Sources: Rousopoulos (1864) 226.

Year of excavation: 1864.

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with a NW-SE orientation.

Depth of discovery: Shallow.

Building material of wall: Blocks ('fine remains of walls').

V2 – 1 KOLOKOTRONI (road)

Sources: Koumanoudes (1888) 12.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1886 / In search of new inscriptions following the discovery of a large funerary stone at the foundations of the Old Parliament.

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with a NW-SE orientation.

Dating of wall: Late Roman.

Slope of ground: Upwards.

Length / Width of wall: 13 m. / 1.55 m.

Depth of discovery: 1.20 m.

Building material of wall: Many types of small and large stones as well as bricks, with mortar binder.

Other finds: Four stone architectural members, two inscriptions. Tile graves without goods (in contact with and in part below the S side of the wall).

V3 – 1 KOLOKOTRONIS AND STADIOU (Kostis house)

Sources: Rangavis (1850) 121; Rousopoulos (1864) 225.

Year of excavation: 1850.

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with a NW-SE orientation.

Masonry of wall: The stones were connected with mortar.

V4 – 9 STADIOU (road)

Sources: Conze (1858) 178; Travlos Archive, B-148, 7.

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with a NW-SE orientation.

Building material of wall: Blocks and ancient material in secondary use.

Built-in ancient material: An inscribed stone.

V5 – STADIOU-VOUKOURESTIOU-PANEPISTIMIOU-AMERIKIS (former Royal Stables)

Sources: Kyparissis (1924–1925); Amandry (1947–1948); Travlos (1960) 94, 144, n. 6; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 2.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1926–1928 / Construction of the megaron of the Hellenic Army Pension Fund.

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with a NW-SE orientation, tower.

Dating of wall / tower: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.). [Late Roman, Karouzou; Hadrianic, Kyparissis; Justinianic, Travlos].

Composition / Slope of ground: A strong slope from Voukourestiou street towards Amerikis (4–5 m.). At the junction of Amerikis and Stadiou the original slope exceeded 7–8 m. forming a large gully, which was later filled either by artificial levelling with a layer of small stones or naturally by the accumulation of stones.

Foundations of wall: Onto an ancient cemetery.

Width / Height of wall: 3 m. / 2 m. (Stadiou street).

Length x width of tower: 6 x 5 m.

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill.

Masonry of wall: Generally careless (Stadiou street); more diligent (Voukourestiou street) (see Travlos Archive).

Building material of wall / tower: Faces: blocks mainly in secondary use, often connected with bricks and mortar. Core: stones, bricks, fragments of sculptures, funerary stelai and 'Theran earth' [pumice?].

Other finds: Cemetery dating from the 5th c. B.C. until the Roman period, funerary periboloi, a Roman aqueduct, wells. Contents of ancient fill: pottery from the Geometric and Orientalising periods up to the time of Hadrian, perhaps from graves.

V6 – VOUKOURESTIOU (plot)

Sources: Noack (1907) 510.

Year of excavation: 1906.

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with a NW-SE orientation.

Dating of wall: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.) [Hadrianic, according to Noack].

Depth of discovery: 2 m.

Width of wall: 3.35 m. (4 courses).

Building material of wall: Conglomerate blocks.

V7 – 6 VOUKOURESTIOU (Grande Bretagne Hotel)

Sources: Kyparissis (1924–1925) 68–69; Scranton (1938) 536; Travlos (1960) 94, n. 4; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 2.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1929 / Demolition of an old building for the extension of the Grande Bretagne Hotel towards Panepistimiou street.

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with a NW-SE orientation, tower.

Dating of tower: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.) [Themistoklean, Scranton; Hadrianic, Travlos].

Preservation status on excavation: The section between the walls and tower 'had been much destroyed by the workers, but there still remained *in situ* many poros blocks' (see Travlos Archive).

Length / Width / Height of wall: 10.40 m. / 3 m. / 2 courses.

Length x Width of tower: 6.50 x 4.40 m.

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill.

Masonry of wall: Masonry of excellent quality, without the use of older material or mortar (see Scranton 1938).

Building material of wall: Poros blocks.

V8 – VASILLISSIS SOPHIAS AND 2 PANEPISTIMIOU (plot)

Sources: Themelis (1974–1974); Travlos Archive, Athens Folder A-147, 16. (see Figs. 90, 120).

Year of excavation: 1974.

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with a NW-SE orientation, tower.

Dating of wall / tower: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.).

Foundations of wall: On bedrock (level: 3.60 m.), next to or onto a Classical cemetery. **Foundation level:** 3.60 m.

Foundations of tower: On bedrock. Foundation level: 4 m.

Length / Width of wall: 31 m. / 2.70 m. (3 courses).

Length / Width / Height of tower: 7.50 m. (restored) / 5.10 m. / 0.95 m. (2 courses).

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill of stones and bricks connected with mortar.

Type of tower: Rectangular. Its outer sides were constructed with stones and the core completed with the usual fill material (stones and bricks connected with mortar).

Building material of wall: Dressed blocks and architectural material in secondary use.

Built-in ancient material: Many fragments of inscribed funerary stelai, mainly of the 4th c. B.C.

Other finds: Part of a cemetery, mainly 5th c. B.C. (N of wall). A drain, inverted Π in section, of joined terracotta sections and dating prior to the construction of the tower. Above the remains of the wall were various drains with the same orientation as the wall, while a road was later founded on the drains. Above the road were two other channels, inverted Π in section, and two built pithoi. Part of another drain with terracotta sections, inverted Π in section, founded in bedrock (N of the tower). The excavation fill contained a large number of pottery fragments from the Classical to Late

Roman periods, a number of loom weights and stamped handles, and parts of lamps. Many important pieces of marble funerary stelai.

V9 – VASILISSIS SOPHIAS (road, north of the Parliament building)

Sources: Kokkoliou (1997a); Zachariadou (1998b).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1997 / Works for the installation of new electrical cables. 1998 / Construction of an underground car park at the Parliament.

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with a NW-SE (1997) and W-E (1998) orientation.

Dating of wall: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.).

Depth of discovery: 1997: 0.76 m.

Foundations of wall: 1998: Onto mortar, rocky ground or large rough stones with fragments of tiles connected with mortar. Foundation level: 1997: 1.75 m.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 1997: 6.30 m. / 0.60 m. / 1.37 m. (1997: 2 courses. 1998: 3 courses).

Masonry of wall: 1997: A layer 2.40 m. long, 0.90 m. wide, and 0.35 m. high (E) built with rough stones and fragments of tiles connected with mortar.

Building material of wall: 1997: Face: Limestone blocks (lower course), conglomerate blocks, reddish (upper course). Fill: rough stones with fragments of tiles and mortar. 1998: Gray limestone blocks and conglomerate, connected with layers of mortar. Two blocks of gray marble connected with a metal clamp. Tiles and mortar at the foundation level.

V10 – VASILISSIS SOPHIAS (pavement, opposite Merlin street)

Sources: Threpsiades (1971) 31.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1953 / Opening of a trench by the Electricity Company, 2.40 m. from the fence of the National Gardens.

Fortification elements: Tower (identified with reservation).

Type of tower: Rectangular.

Dating of tower: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.).

Depth of discovery: 0.80 m.

Length / Width / Height of tower: 6 m. / 0.50 m. / 0.40 m.

Building material of tower: Hard poros blocks.

Other finds: The ancient fill contained parts of four glass vessels and one complete lamp, length 0.09m., which had a stamped leaf decoration. Sherds with characteristic Byzantine furrowed decoration.

V11 – NATIONAL GARDENS (Metro excavation)

Sources: Lyngouri-Tolia (1996).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1996 / Opening of a tunnel for the Athens Metro.

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with a NW-SE orientation.

Dating of wall: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.).

Other finds: A drain with built arched roof of rough stones, a cut tunnel through which flowed much water, and part of a semi-circular construction, probably a cistern.

Composition of ground: Continuously flowing water.

Depth of discovery: 0.50–0.60 m.

Level of bedrock / wall: 3.50 m.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 5 m. (and 15 m. which had collapsed) / 3 m. (original) / 5 courses.

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill.

Masonry of wall: Stretchers.

Building material of wall: Limestone blocks and material in secondary use (part of a marble column).

V12 – NATIONAL GARDENS (west of Lykeiou street)

Sources: Chatzipouliou (1987).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1987 / Laying of a drainage pipeline.

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with a N-S orientation.

Dating of wall: 1, 2: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.). The two phases are reported as contemporary.

Depth of discovery: 0.68 m.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 4.85 m. (N), 3 m. (S) / 2.46 m.: (1:1.34 m., 2: 1.12 m.) / 2.30 m.

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill.

Foundations of wall: Three foundation courses.

Masonry / Building material of wall: 1: Face of large stones, 1.37 x 0.60 x 0.38 m., core of smaller irregular stones with mortar binding / 2: Careless construction of stones and mortar. The face of the S side of the wall was coated with a thick mortar.

Other finds: Plastered floor, perhaps of a wealthy house of the 4th c. B.C.; the wall was probably the side of the building. The fill contained Roman sherds, abundant pieces of marble revetment and Roman bricks with impressed spirals.

V13 – IRODOU TOU ATTIKOU AND VASILEOS GEORGIOU II (road)

Sources: Travlos Archive, Athens Folder A-147, 5.

Year of excavation: 1959.

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with a NW-SE orientation.

Depth of discovery: 0.30 m.

Foundations of wall: On bedrock. Foundation level: 1.15 m.

Width of wall: 3.30 m.

Building material of wall: Small stones connected by much mortar.

V14 – NATIONAL GARDENS (on the axis of Stadiou street)

Sources: Rangavis (1850) 116–124.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1849 / Foundations of the enclosure wall of the National Gardens.

Fortification elements: Tower (V) with a NE-SW orientation [TH according to Rangavis].

Other finds: Column drums and capitals placed in front of the tower wall [belonging to an aqueduct, according to Rangavis].

V15 – VASILISSIS OLGAS (road, east of the Olympieion)

Sources: Tsouklidou-Penna (1983a).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1983 / Opening of a 2 m.

trench by the Athens Water Supply and Sewerage Company (ΕΥΔΑΠ) along the length of the S pavement.

Fortification elements: Wall (V).

Dating of wall: 1: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.) / 2: 6th c. A.D.

Depth of discovery: 0.75 m.

V16 – SOUTH OF THE OLYMPIEION PERIBOLOS

Sources: Pervanoglu (1863) 532–533; Skias (1893); Threpsiades/ Travlos (1961–1962); *ΕΥΠΠΟ* (1999) 85–86; Kyriakou (2001–2004b).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1893, 1940, 1960–1962 / Landscaping works of the Olympieion area. 1999–2000 / Cleaning of the archaeological site to the depth of the 1960–1962 excavations.

Fortification elements: Gate, wall (V) with a NW-SE & NE-SW orientation, four towers, a crossing road.

Dating of gate / wall: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.).

Dating of tower: 6th c. A.D.

Dating of road: The road went out of use during Late Hellenistic period and was revived during Roman times, operating until the 10th and 12th c. A.D.

Composition / Slope of ground: The rocky raised ground in the W of the area is limestone. Ground compact and hard, formed from older alluvium of sand and gravel. The fill in the area of the Ilissos was up to ca. 5 m.

Foundations of wall: On earlier buildings.

Foundations of tower: On fill of the 5th c. A.D.

Width of wall: 2.50 m.

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill.

Type of gate: Opening width 3 m.

Type of towers: Square.

Building material of wall: Poros blocks, marble and architectural material in secondary use; a whole section of the Olympieion peribolos was also used, as well as the walls of older structures. Binder: iron clamps. Core: small stones and mortar.

Other finds: Submycenaean, Protogeometric and Early Geometric cemetery, an Archaic building of the late 6th c. B.C., the putative sanctuary of Apollo Pythios, Early Archaic wells, an aqueduct of 6th c. B.C., and a bronze workshop with a kiln of the 5th c. B.C. Poros foundations of a peripteral Doric temple, perhaps

of the mid-5th c. B.C., which was attributed to the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios. Retaining wall of rectangular poros blocks and a half-finished capitals and column drums extending towards the SW corner of the temple and near the Archaic building. Foundations of a circular base, a building, probably Late Hellenistic, which put the road to the gate out of use. A large Roman rectangular peristyle, 65.4 x 45.2 m., of opus incertum. A Roman temple of the late 2nd c. A.D. with foundations of the altar. A base of a large rectangular construction of unknown purpose (N of altar). An extensive cemetery of 200 graves of the mid-3rd c. A.D. and remains of houses and workshops of a settlement of the 10th and 12th c. A.D.

V17 - 28-32 ATHANASIOU DIAKOU (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1968b).

Year of excavation: 1967.

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with an E-W orientation, tower.

Dating of wall: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.).

Preservation status on excavation: The remains were damaged by a mechanical digger.

Composition of ground: Older alluvium of sand and gravel in a hard compact layer 1.70 m. thick, on top of the limestone bedrock.

Foundations of wall: On bedrock. Foundation level: 3.20 m.

Foundations of tower: On bedrock, 1.70 m. deeper than the wall. Foundation level: 4.90 m.

Length / Height of wall: 10.50 m. (preserved), 19.50 m. (restored) / 1.50 m. (3 courses).

Length / Width / Height of tower: 6.15 m. (original) / 1.45 m. (W), 2.40m. (E) / 2.70 m. (W), 2.80 m. (E).

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill.

Type of tower: Built onto the wall without any integral connection.

Building material of wall: Poros, conglomerate, marble fragments, a mixture of architectural material in secondary use. Core: small stones and mortar.

Building material of tower: Small stones. Binder: mortar (opus incertum).

Other finds: Many Late Helladic sherds, with some

3.2 Valerian wall – South arm

V18 – 1 MISARALIOTOU AND VEIKOU (road, south)

Sources: Threpsiades (1950) 64–68; Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 3N-154, 4.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1950 / Works by the Municipality of Athens.

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with a NE-SW orientation (point A) [The same excavation also revealed parts of the *proteichisma*, the moat (point B), and the TH wall (point Γ), see above site TH87].

Dating of wall: Valerian (3rd .c A.D.).

Depth of discovery: 0.50 m.

Foundations of wall: Straight onto the sandy fill of the moat, without substructure.

Length / Height of wall: 4.25 m. / 4 courses.

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill.

Building material of wall: Mixed material, poros and conglomerate blocks, marble in secondary use, rough stones and baked bricks (faces), connected with a little mortar (core).

Built-in ancient material: Two inscribed funerary stelai of the late 2nd c. A.D.

Other finds: Few pots and parts of coloured mortar. The majority of the sherds were A.D. Disturbed fill in the inner face of the wall.

V19 – 16 VEIKOU (old Alexandrakis house)

Sources: Threpsiades (1950) 64–67; ΔEAM Archive, Box 590.

Year of excavation: 1925 [ΔEAM Archive].

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with a NE-SW orientation.

Built-in ancient material: A Byzantine column capital, a large marble slab, an Archaising marble krater with depiction of the dancing Graces.

V20 – 24–26 VEIKOU (plot)

Sources: Alexandri (1970a); Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1-10A/11. (see Fig. 89).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1969 / Construction of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with an E-W orientation.

Dating of wall: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.).

Other finds: Transverse arm which ended at the wall, length 4.50 m., added later [this wall may be part of a tower from a later reinforcement of the V wall]. Child pit grave.

Level of bedrock / wall: 1.40 m.

Height of wall: 1.30 m. (3 courses).

Masonry of wall: Pseudo-isodomic.

Building material of wall: Conglomerate, poros and mixed architectural material in secondary use connected with mortar.

Built-in ancient material: Three unfluted column drums and a marble funerary stele.

V21 – 28 VEIKOU (old Petsas house)

Sources: Threpsiades (1950) 65–67; Stavropoulos (1965a); ΔEAM Archive, Box 590.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1964 / Foundations of a house.

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with an E-W orientation.

Dating of wall: Valerian (3rd c. A.D.).

Preservation status on excavation: Preserved to some height in 1950 in the partition wall between the courtyard of the Petsas house and the building of the 3rd Girls' High School, at 3 Tsami Karatasou street.

Depth of discovery: The surface of the second course was found 0.20 m. above the surface of the ground.

Foundations of wall: Within bedrock cuttings. Foundation level: 0.90 m.

Height of wall: 2 courses (W), 3 courses (E).

Building material of wall: Large conglomerate blocks.

V22 – 32 VEIKOU (old Karastamatis house)

Sources: Pernice (1892) 271; Dörpfeld (1892) 450–451; Threpsiades (1950) 65–73; Third Archaeological Region of Athens (1961–1962) 26; Archive of the Third EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ12.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1892 / Expansion of a manufacturing unit.

Fortification elements: Wall (V) with an E-W orientation.

Building material of wall: Material in secondary use.

Built-in ancient material: Marble column drums. Two inscriptions from roadside funerary monuments along the ancient Phaleric road (see Pernice, 1892).

4 Post-Herulian wall

PH1 – ACROPOLIS NORTH SLOPE (Klepsydra)

Sources: Kavvadias (1897b) 10; Shear (1938) 332–333; Travlos (1960) 164; *Agora* XXIV, 128.

Year of excavation: 1897, 1937.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a N-S orientation.

Dating of wall: Under Probus (A.D. 276–282) or Maximianus (A.D. 286–305).

PH2 – ATHENIAN AGORA

Sources: Koumanoudes (1860) 8–13; Koumanoudes (1861) 14–18; Koumanoudes (1862) 7–10; Koumanoudes (1870) 7; Koumanoudes (1872) 4–5; Koumanoudes (1874a) 18–23; Shear (1935) 329–334; Shear (1938) 331–332; Shear (1940) 297; Thompson (1959b) 95–96; Thompson (1960) 350–359; *Agora* XXIV, 125–141; Tsoniotis (2008b) 57. (see Figs. 31–33).

Year of excavation: 1851–1852, 1933, 1937, 1939, 1958, 1959.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a N-S, NW-SE & N-S orientation, three gates (Hypapanti, Christ, Panagia Pyrgiotissa), seven towers.

Dating of wall / gate / tower: Under Probus (A.D. 276–282) or Maximianus (A.D. 286–305).

Foundations of wall: On foundations of earlier buildings or in bedrock cuttings.

Width of wall: 2.50–3.50 m.

Height of wall: Up to 11.50m. (preserved) (Stoa of Attalos, without the battlements).

Length / Width of towers: 7 x 6 m. (W1), 7.65 x 5.86 m. (W2), 8.87x6.94 m. (W3), 7.50 x9.70 m. (W4), 9.90 x 7.50 m. (W5), 6.60

x7.30m. (W6), 14.70 x 17.20 m. (W7).

Thickness of tower walls: 1.40–1.90 m.

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill to the full height (mud-brick was not used).

Masonry of wall: Careful laying of blocks in the faces of the walls.

Masonry of towers: Isodomic and pseudo-isodomic (W6).

Building material of wall: Architectural members of older Agora structures. Use of connecting mortar, stronger on the faces of the walls than in the core.

PH3 – 46 ADRIANOU AND VRYSAKIOU (plot)

Sources: KAS Archive, Act 16/6-3-1962; Tsoniotis (2008b) 57–58.

Year of excavation: 1962.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE orientation.

Dating of wall: Later repair.

Length of wall: 1 m.

Masonry of wall: The core of the wall was of stones connected with mortar.

PH4 – 14 KREVVATA (plot of the Museum of Greek Folk Art)

Sources: KAS Archive, Act 22/13-6-1995; Tsoniotis (2008b) 57–58.

Year of excavation: 1995.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE orientation.

Dating of wall: Later repair.

Length / Height of wall: 7.42 m. / 3.43 m. (4 courses).

Building material of wall: Poros and marble blocks, part of a marble pedestal.

Masonry of wall: The core of the wall was of stones connected with mortar.

PH5 – LIBRARY OF HADRIAN (continuation of the south wing to the west)

Sources: Knithakis *et al.* (1983); Choremi-Spetsieri (1994) 18–20; Choremi-Spetsieri (1996) 25–28; Tsoniotis (2006) 61–64; Tsoniotis

(2008b) 58–59.

Year of excavation: 1983, 1994, 1996, 2006.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE orientation, two gates ($\pi 1$: W end of the S peribolos of the Library, connecting with the fortified city to the north of the Acropolis), $\pi 2$: 17 m. W of the façade), internal projection/opening of the S face of wall (W of $\pi 1$).

Dating of wall: 1 Late Roman / 2: Justinianic.

Dating of gates: $\pi 1$: 3rd c. A.D. or beginning of 5th c. A.D. / Later repair. $\pi 2$: 14th c. A.D. (abandoned during the Ottoman period).

Composition of ground: Abundant water.

Foundations of wall: On bedrock, with a series of poros blocks, height 0.48–0.50 m., in a stepped configuration.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 17.80 m. (N face), 10.42 m. (S face) / 3.40–4.20 m. / 2.70–3 m.

Type / Masonry of wall: 1, 2: Double faced wall with inner fill. There was a clear attempt to imitate the masonry of the façade and the wing of the Library. Core, SW of the S wing. 1: Fragments of tiles, marble slabs and architectural members, earth with a little compact and reddish mortar.

Building material of wall: Large blocks in secondary use: poros, Hymettian marble and white marble blocks (N face).

PH6 – LIBRARY OF HADRIAN (along the length of the façade, south of the propylon)

Sources: Knithakis/Tigginaga (1986); Choremi-Spetsieri (1989) 13; Choremi-Spetsieri (2005) 63–64; Tsioniotis (2008b) 59–61.

Year of excavation: 1986, 2005.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NE-SW orientation, gate (propylon of the Library of Hadrian), crossing road.

Dating of wall / gate: 1: Late Roman / 2: Justinianic.

Foundations of wall: 2: On a strong krepis with embedded members of the superstructure of the Library. The krepis was founded in fill of rough stones and thin mortar with many fragments of marble revetment and the tiling of the stoa (S wing).

Length / Width / Height of wall: 2: S wing: 18.40 m. / 2.43m. / 2.30 or 3.34 m. N wing: 17.70 + 8 m. / - / -.

Type / Masonry of wall: 1, 2: Double faced wall with inner fill.

The outer face was the wall of the façade of the Library of Hadrian and the inner face was of a row of poros blocks. Core, 1: Large number of architectural members, bricks and tiles without binding material. / 2: Rubble masonry of fragments of bricks and tiles, poros and marble fragments of architectural members, connected with much strong mortar. The fill was constructed in a poor way, although the surface of it was levelled with care to receive a row of poros blocks.

Building material of wall: Poros blocks in secondary use (2: S wing, inner face).

PH7 – LIBRARY OF HADRIAN (eastern side, south amphitheatre)

Sources: Tsoniotis (2008b) 61.

Year of excavation: 2006.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NE-SW orientation. Width of wall: 3.45 m.

Type / Masonry of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill of earth, fragments of tiles and bricks, various marbles and fragments of poros and marble architectural elements, connected with a little compact mortar. One face was the eastern wall of the Library, and the other, the inner wall face, was a new construction.

Building material of wall: Exclusively material in secondary use (inner face).

PH8 – 3-5 AIOLOU AND 64 ADRIANOU (the historic Aiolos Hotel)

Sources: *Agora* XXIV, 140; Sourlas (2011); Sourlas (2012a); Sourlas (2012b); Sourlas (2013) 149–160.

Year / Reason for excavation: 2010–2011 / Restoration works at the historic Aiolos Hotel, the first to be built in Athens (1835 or 1837).

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NE-SW orientation in contact, to the west, with the east wall/peribolos of the Library of Hadrian, part of the north bastion of a gate (Megali Panagia) and the crossing E-W road that passed between the Library of Hadrian and Roman Agora and led to the gate.

Dating of gate: An inscribed pedestal built into the structure

gives the years A.D. 244–247 as a *terminus post quem* for the gate's construction. The area west of the gate was filled in the 4th c. A.D. It is believed that answers about the exact construction date of the gateway, and hence of the Post-Herulian Wall, will be given on the evidence of abundant sherds of pottery discovered.

Length / Width / Height of wall: Outer face: 4.50 m. / 0.70m. / 1.73 m. Core: 4.50 m. / 1.50–1.80 m. / 1.28 m.

Length / Width / Height of gate: 3.70 m. / 2 m. / 1.40 m.

Masonry of wall: Outer face: opus incertum (stones and mortar).

Masonry of gate: Careful reuse of building material.

Building material of wall: Core: stones, parts of marbles and fragments of architectural members and marble revetment, connected with earth and mortar.

Building material of gate: Large marble architectural members of various periods and 16 monolithic inscribed marble pedestals in a good state of preservation, which mostly date around the middle of the 3rd c. A.D. The gaps were filled with fragments of baked bricks, tiles and smaller stones and marble members, and connected with strong mortar.

Other finds: A well of the 4th c. B.C. (west of the wall core). The whole SE corner of the Library of Hadrian. A lead water channel dating after the middle of the 2nd c. A.D. The upper surfaces of the Early Roman road which passed between the Roman Agora and the Library of Hadrian and led to the so-called Pantheon. Probable remains of a large bath complex, which dates between the 4th and 6th c. A.D. (west of the core of the wall).

PH9 – 2 AIOLOU AND PELOPIDA (Medrese)

Sources: Koumanoudes (1861) 18; Choremi-Spetsieri (1998) 48; *Agora* XXIV, 137; Tsoniotis (2006) 64–66; Tsoniotis (2007) 73–75; Tsoniotis (2008b) 61–63.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1914 / Demolition of the Medrese (Ottoman religious school). 2006 / Exploratory excavation.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE orientation, a second 'transverse wall' with a N-S orientation.

Dating of wall: 1: Late Roman / 2: Later repair.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 1. Main wall: S face: 15.65 m.

/ 0.80 m. (below), smaller 1.2–0.37 m. (above) / 3.66 m. N face: 10 m. / 0.40 m. / 0.95 m. W end of S face: 3.95 m. / – / 1.36 m. (3 courses). 2. 'Transverse wall': 9 m. / 2.72 m. / 1.67 m. (4 courses).

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill.

Masonry of wall: 1. Main wall:

S face (below): A unique case of mixed masonry with two zones of stones alternating with two zones with five layers of baked bricks in each. The stones were connected with a little compact mortar.

S face (above): Pseudo-isodomic with alternating poros blocks and poros orthostates in secondary use. Alternate stretchers with narrower which in places reached part of the core of the wall. The stones were connected with a reddish mortar.

S face (W end), 2: Large poros blocks in secondary use without binding material. N face: a large number of fragments of poros and marble architectural members in secondary use and rough stones in a strong grey mortar.

2. 'Transverse wall', 2: Touches the S wall face without joining. Stretchers without binding material.

Building material of wall: 1. Main wall: large poros architectural members in secondary use. 2. 'Transverse wall': poros blocks in secondary use.

PH10 – 72 ADRIANOU (plot)

Sources: KAS Archive, Act 27/7-4-1963, 21/17-3-1964, 21/15-7-1968; Travlos (1971) 439–440.

Year of excavation: 1956.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE orientation, a Byzantine tower (according to Travlos).

Other finds: The NW corner of the large Roman building, the so-called Pantheon, which the wall was embedded into.

PH11 – 74 ADRIANOU (plot)

Sources: Third Archaeological Region of Athens (1961–1962) 28; Travlos (1971) 440.

Year of excavation: 1961.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE orientation.

Foundations of wall: Rough stones and mortar on bedrock.

The inner side of the wall was founded onto an older wall.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 12.50 m. / 2.60 m. / 1.45 m.
(2 courses).

Masonry of wall: Headers. Careless masonry.

Building material of wall: Poros blocks.

Other finds: The inner side of the wall coincided with an older wall, 0.90–0.25 m. thick, of makeshift construction from material in secondary use.

PH12 – 78 ADRIANOU (plot)

Sources: Dontas (1969a); Travlos (1971) 439–443; *Agora* XXIV, 137; Tsoniotis/Alexandraki (2011); Bouras (2017) 17 n. 49.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1968–1969 / Construction of a building (not realized as the state decided to expropriate the plot).

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE orientation, tower (W side of same tower at PH13).

Dating of tower: 6th c. A.D.

Foundation of tower: Onto the E part of the N wall of the large Roman building, the so-called Pantheon.

Type of tower: Rectangular.

Height of tower: 6.35 m.

Building material of tower: Poros and marble blocks in secondary use, rough stones and bricks, bonded with mortar.

Other finds: Two Late Hellenistic and two Roman constructions belonging to public buildings, found below the large Roman building, the so-called Pantheon. N of the building were four surfaces of an ancient road, the upper contemporary with the Roman building, and later smaller walls, a well, a draining system of terracotta channels, and a Late Hellenistic drain.

PH13 – 80 ADRIANOU AND 3 DIOGENOUS (plot, Church of the Panagia Krystalliotissa)

Sources: Soteriou (1927); Guidi (1921–1922) 36; Biris (1940) 47, no. 38; Travlos (1971) 440; *Agora* XXIV, 140; Sourlas (2007); Sourlas (2013) 160–162; Bouras (2017) 28.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1927, 2007 / Cleaning and removal of a large mass of vegetation and waste.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE orientation,

gate (Panagia Krystalliotissa), tower (E side of same tower at PH12).

Dating of wall: Justinianic (6th c. A.D.) or Middle Byzantine (perhaps 11th c. A.D.).

Length / Width / Height of wall: 7.50 + 3.50 m. / 1 m. / 3 m.

Dating of tower: 6th c. A.D.

Foundation of tower: Onto the foundations of the large Roman building, the so-called Pantheon.

Type of gate: The gate was flanked by one to tower the W and possibly another to the E. The marble portal of the gate is elaborately decorated with a Lesbian moulding with astragals and rosettes. The same decoration was used on the lintel of the doorway, which had a cross carved into its centre. The inner face of the door jambs carried foliated decoration.

Type of tower: Rectangular.

Width / Height of gate: 1.98 m. / 2.50 m.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 7.50 m. / 1 m. / 3 m.

Height of tower: about 5 m.

Masonry of wall: Isodomic.

Building material of wall: Large limestone blocks in secondary use and bricks connected with reddish mortar.

Building material of tower: Large poros and marble blocks in secondary use.

Other finds: Sections of the Post-Byzantine church of the Panagia Krystalliotissa.

PH14 – 84 ADRIANOU AND MNISIKLEOUS (plot)

Sources: Papapostolou (1968); Travlos (1971) 440; *Agora* XXIV, 137.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1967 / Demolition of an old house.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE orientation.

Length of wall: 12 m.

Masonry of wall: Two of the blocks carried unusual relief workmanship and *periteneia*.

Building material of wall: Large blocks, some poros.

Other finds: Four walls of a large Roman building, the so-called Pantheon (touching the wall).

PH15 – MNISIKLEOUS (road, between 84 and 86 Adrianou)

Sources: Dontas (1969b) 2; Travlos (1971) 440.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1969 / Opening of a trench by the Sewer Company.

Fortification elements: Part of the large Roman building which was incorporated into the city wall (PH), with a NW-SE orientation.

PH16 – 86 ADRIANOU AND MNISIKLEOUS (plot)

Sources: Dontas (1969b) 2.

Year of excavation: 1969.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE orientation.

Other finds: Part of the large Roman building which was incorporated into the city wall (PH).

PH17 – 88B ADRIANOU (plot)

Sources: Choremi-Spetsieri (1993) 19; Tsoniotis (2008b) 63.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1993 / Renovation of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE orientation.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 2.77 m. / 0.50 m. / 0.70 m. (2 courses).

Building material of wall: Three poros blocks.

Other finds: Storage pithos, probably Medieval, in contact with the N face of the wall.

PH18 – 88A ADRIANOU (plot)

Sources: Choremi-Spetsieri (1993) 19; Tsoniotis (2008b) 63.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1993 / Renovation of a building.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE orientation touching the E side of the so-called Pantheon.

Length / Height of wall: 3 m. / 2 m.

Masonry of wall: Isodomic, with an effort to mimic the

masonry of the so-called Pantheon.

Building material of wall: Large poros blocks.

PH19 – 92 ADRIANOU (plot)

Sources: Vasilopoulou (2001–2004); Tsoniotis (2008b) 63–64.

Year of excavation: 1998.

Fortification elements: Two walls forming a corner and clearly engaged: N wall (E-W), E wall (N-S). Attributed to the wall (PH).

Dating of wall: Unclear due to disturbed fills.

Foundations of wall: N wall: on bedrock. E wall: onto a compact layer of rough stones and fragments of tiles, connected with mortar. Foundation level: 0.28–2.05 m.

Length / Height of wall: N wall: 3.45 m. / 2 courses. E wall: 4.40 m. / 4 courses.

Building material of wall: Large Akte blocks, perhaps originating from the so-called Pantheon, connected with hard mortar.

Other finds: Sections of six storage pithoi, two pithoi, and a pi-shaped drain of Medieval times.

PH20 – 94 ADRIANOU (plot)

Sources: Dontas (1972); *Agora* XXIV, 137; Tsoniotis (2006) 67–68; Tsoniotis (2008b) 65–66.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1971 / Foundations of a new building.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE orientation, postern with two steps, external road N of the wall.

Preservation status on excavation: The N face of the wall, W of the postern, was destroyed in the 11th c. A.D.

Length / Width / Height of wall: 7.50 m. / 3.42 m. / 3.40 m. (3 courses).

Width / Thickness / Height of postern: 1.05 m. / 3.42 m. / 1.65 m. (superstructure), 2.45 m. (together with the foundations).

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill.

Building material of wall: Poros blocks in secondary use (faces). Mixture of architectural members of older buildings connected with mortar, as well as triglyphs and geison blocks

(core).

Building material of postern: Poros and marble architectural members without binding material (above). Small fragments of marble slabs between the courses (below).

Other finds: A terracotta drainage channel.

PH21 – 96 ADRIANOU (The Benizeli mansion)

Sources: Tsoniotis (2008a); Tsoniotis (2016).

Year of excavation: 1998.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE orientation.

Dating of wall: End of the 3rd c. A.D. – beginning of the 4th c. A.D.

Length / Height of wall: 8.80 m. / 2.20 m.

Type of wall: Double faced wall with inner fill of rough stones, fragments of bricks and tiles, as well as fragments of poros and marble architectural members contained in dark, fine-grained soil.

Masonry of wall: Pseudo-isodomic.

Building material of wall: Piraic Akte stone in secondary use.

Other finds: Two successive road surfaces of a section of the road that passed between the Roman Agora and Hadrian's Library (the oldest road surface corresponded to the first course of the wall). A built cist grave was founded in contact with the first course of the wall and contained burials dating back to the 5th c. A.D. A building of the late 11th or 12th c. A.D. was built in contact with the N side of the wall. Parts of another building were founded between the 13th and 14th c. A.D. directly on the upper course of the wall.

PH22 – 96B ADRIANOU (eastern plot, part of the Benizeli mansion)

Sources: Tsoniotis (2008b) 65–66.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE orientation, tower (see also site PH23).

Length of wall: 5.10 m.

Width / Thickness / Height of tower: 2.70 m. / 0.60m. (visible) / 0.50 m.

Building material of wall / tower: Poros blocks.

PH23 – 98 ADRIANOU (plot)

Sources: Choremi-Spetsieri (1985) 6; Tsoniotis (2008b) 66.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1985 / Construction works.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE & NE-SW orientation, tower (see also site PH22).

Foundations of wall: S part: on bedrock. N part: onto small stones, marble fragments and fragments of tiles; foundation of the courses onto horizontal slabs.

Length / Width / Height of wall: S part: 2.65 m. / 1.20 m. / 2.40 m. (with the substructures). N part: 1.14 m. / 0.68 m. / 0.74 m. (3 courses).

Building material of wall: Architectural material in secondary use. Blocks of the faces connected with mortar.

PH24 – ‘GYMNASIUM OF DIOGENES’ (between Diogenous, Erechtheos and Kyrristou)

Sources: Koumanoudes (1861) 18–20; KAS Archive, Act 19/9-5-1972; Choremi-Spetsieri (1985) 6–7; *Agora* XXIV, 137–138, 140; Peppa-Papaioannou (2005) 75; Peppa-Papaioannou (2007) 81; Tsoniotis (2008b) 66–67.

Year/ Reason for excavation: 1861, 1985, 2002–2012 (Athens University excavation) / Opening of a trench for the foundations of a proposed bridge across the site.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NE-SW & NW-SE orientation forming an obtuse angle (N, S arm), gate (Agios Demetrios Katiphoris, according to Travlos).

Dating of wall: Unclear due to the disturbed fills.

Composition / Slope of ground: 2005–2006: Soft rock (trench Γ3).

Level of bedrock: 3 m. (trench Γ3).

Length / Height of wall: N arm: 7.20 m. / 5 m. S arm: 2 m. / 5 courses.

Masonry of wall: S arm: Alternating headers and stretchers which pierce the core of the wall.

Building material of wall: N arm: abundant material in secondary use, architectural members and inscriptions. S arm: Poros and marble blocks, fallen and in a poor state because of the demolition of the wall during Koumanoudes' excavation.

Other finds: 1985: Four undated walls, three of them in contact with the wall (T1, T6, T7). A built drain with tiles, between wall T6 and the wall. The fill, which was disturbed, contained mixed ceramics and fragments of architectural and sculptural members, pedestals, and parts of two Hellenistic inscriptions. 2003–2004: Mixture of fills (central area of plot). Glazed sherds were discovered at a depth of ca. 2m., some of them Byzantine (12th–13th c. A.D.), as well as black-glazed Attic pottery, the majority Classical and Hellenistic. Parts of Ionic and Corinthian column capitals, column drums, a Roman inscribed marble funerary kioniskos, crowning of a marble stele, and some parts of terracotta figurines. 2005–2006: Part of a large building of poros in tertiary use (trenches B2, B3, B4). The fill contained finds from the Archaic period to the modern era. A fragment of an Archaic marble horse head, and part of a Roman inscription.

PH25 – 4 PHLESSA AND KYRRISTOU (plot)

Sources: Koumanoudes (1861) 18; Kalligas (1991) 21–23; Choremi-Spetsieri (1993) 20; Tsoniotis (2008b) 67.

Year / Reason for excavation: 1861, 1991–1993 / Demolition of an old house.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE & NE-SW orientation, tower at an obtuse angle to the wall.

Foundations of tower: Onto rough stones and marble fragments set in bedrock cuttings.

Length / Height of wall: 2.75m. / 2.70 m.

Width / Height of tower: N side: 8.65 m. / 3 courses. E side: – / 2 m. (3 courses).

Type of tower: Rectangular.

Building material of wall: Faces: architectural members in secondary use (blocks, part of a marble base and a marble epistyle). Core: earth and fragments of architectural members.

Building material of tower: Side: Piraic Akte stone without binding material. Core: Material in secondary use, connected with mortar.

Built-in ancient material: Crowning of good workmanship from an unknown monument.

Other finds: A large Late Byzantine pithos (in the interior of the obtuse angle of the wall).

PH26 – THEATRE OF DIONYSOS (west part of the retaining wall of the koilon)

Sources: Korres (1980) 19–20.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH).

Dating of wall: Late Roman.

PH27 – STOA OF EUMENES (north wall)

Sources: Koumanoudes (1878) 6–22; Travlos (1971) 523; Korres (1980) 18–19; Makri *et al.* (1987–1988) 332–333; Korres (1990) 18; Korres (1993).

Year / Reason for excavation: 1877 / Demolition of the Serpentzé outworks.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE orientation.

Dating of wall: 1. Late Roman / 2. Late first half of 13 c. A.D. (Rizokastro).

Masonry of wall: 1980: Rows of irregular stones in secondary use connected with mortar. Thick red baked bricks were added between uncoursed poros blocks. The blocks that were upright in their first use were incorporated into the wall in a prone position; bricks were added to the gaps to level the raw back surfaces of the blocks when placing them in the wall. Above the marble orthostate, a large section of the soft poros blocks of the Stoa wall were replaced with harder Akte stones in order to convert them into a fortification wall.

Building material of wall: 1980: Large hard Akte blocks in secondary use, thick bricks and mortar. The stones came from the demolition of an older building that had pseudo-isodomic masonry.

Other finds: A building, perhaps a nymphaion, of the 5th c. A.D. of large dressed ashlar blocks in secondary use (to the W end of the Stoa of Eumenes). It was later than the wall and its lower layers were built from material in secondary use coming from the fortification wall itself, which it covered.

PH28 – ODEION OF HERODES ATTICUS (south wall)

Sources: Korres (1980) 19; Tanoulas (1997) 255.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE orientation.

Building material of wall: 1997: Large ashlar blocks, without the insertion of baked bricks, connected with a reddish mortar.

Dating of wall: 1: Late Roman / 2. Late first half of 13 c. A.D. (Rizokastro).

PH29 – SERPENTZÉ WALL (west arm)

Sources: Tanoulas (1997) 254–255.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NE-SW orientation.

Dating of wall: Late Roman.

PH30 – WESTERN ACCESS TO THE ACROPOLIS (Beulé Gate)

Sources: Beulé (1853) 60–61; Travlos (1960) 128–129, 164–165; Travlos 1971, 54–55, 357; Tanoulas (1997) 240–242, 265–269; Bouras (2017), 12, 14, 19, 21–22.

Fortification elements: Wall (PH) with a NW-SE orientation, the so-called Beulé Gate, two towers.

Dating of gate: Date unclear [Valerian (A.D. 253–260) according to Beulé and Travlos].

Building material of gate: Stones in secondary use, mainly coming from the choregic monument of Nikias.

Abbreviations

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AAA	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὰ Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν</i>
AD	<i>Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον</i>
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Agora XIII	Sara Anderson Immerwahr, <i>The Neolithic and Bronze Ages. The Athenian Agora</i> , vol. XIII, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton 1971.
Agora XIX	Gerald V. Lalonde, Merle K. Langdon, and Michael B. Walbank, <i>Inscriptions: Horoi, Poletai Records, Leases of Public Lands. The Athenian Agora</i> , vol. XIX, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton 1991.
Agora XXIV	Alison Frantz, <i>Late Antiquity: A.D. 267-700. The Athenian Agora</i> , vol. XXIV, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton 1988.
Agora XXVI	John H. Kroll, <i>The Greek Coins. The Athenian Agora</i> , vol. XXVI, The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Princeton 1993.
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AJA	

AM

*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen
Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*

AntK

Antike Kunst

APF

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265), Athens 2010.

BdI

Bulletino dell'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica

BCH

Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique

BSA

The Annual of the British School at Athens

DChAE

Deltion of the Christian Archaeological Society

EphArch

Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική

FGrHist

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FHG

Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum

HSCP

Harvard Studies in Classical Philology

IG

Inscriptiones Graecae

Isthmia V

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JHS

Journal of Hellenic Studies

JRS

Journal of Roman Studies

Kerameikos X

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Kerameikos XIX

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Kerameikos XXII

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*LSJ*⁹

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Mdl

Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

MonAnt

Monumeti antichi

OCD³

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Prakt

Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας

RA

Revue archéologique

REByz

Revue des études byzantines

REG

Revue des études grecques

RendLinc

Rendiconti dell'Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche

SEG

Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum

Archives

John Threpsiades Archive (The Archaeological Society at Athens)

John Travlos Archive (The Archaeological Society at Athens)

Panagiotis Efstratiades Archive (The Archaeological Society at Athens)

Archives of the Central Archaeological Service, Directorate of the National Archive of Monuments (DEAM)

Archives of the Central Archaeological Council (KAS)

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53. →

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Ancient Terms/Names

Academy
Acharnai (deme)
Acharnian gate
Acharnian road
Acropolis
Agrai
Agrolas
Aigeos gate
ἄλαδε gate
Alaric
Aleuas
Alexander, son of Krateros
Alexander Psalidios
Alexander the Great
Amazon Antiope, monument
Amazons, battle of
Amphion
Anakeion
Anchimolios
Ankyle (deme)
Antigonos Gonatas
Apollo Delphinios, temple
Apollo Pythios, temple
Apollodoros
Areopagos (Hill of Ares)
Aristogeiton
Artemis Agrotera, temple
Asklepieion
Athena (goddess)
Athena Itonia, sanctuary
Athena, Polias
Audoleon (king)

barathron

Basileios Stoa

Bouleuterion (senate house)

Caesar, Julius
Calenus
Cassander
Cervonius
Chaironeia, battle of
Chalkodon (heroon)
Chremonidean War
Claudius Illyrios
Constantine I (Roman/Byzantine emperor)
Corinthian War

Demetrios of Phaleron
Demetrios Poliorketes
Demian gate
Demochares, son of Chares of Leukonoion
Dexippus Herennius
diateichisma
Diochares, baths of
Diochares gate
Diogenes Gymnasium
Diomeia (deme)
Diomiis (Diomeian) gate
Dionysos Eleuthereus, sanctuary
Dipylon, above the gates
Dipylon Gate

Eetioneia
Eleusinion
ἐμπλεκτον
Enneakrounos (fountain house)
Enneapylon
Erechtheus
Euboulos
Eurykleides, of Kephisia

Four Years' War

Gallienus (Roman emperor)

Harmodios
Hecataeus of Miletus
Herakles, sanctuary

Herculius, Prefect of Illyricum
Heruli
Hippades gate
Hipparchos
Hippias
Hippios Kolonos Hill
Homer
horos stone
Hyperbios

Isthmonikos, baths of
Itonian gate

Julian (Roman emperor)

Kallirrhoe, spring
katastegasma
Kekrops (hero/king)
Kerameikos gate
Kerameikos (potters' quarter)
Kerameikos road
Kimon
Kimonian monuments
Kleomenes
Kleon
Klepsydra, spring
Knidos, battle of
Kodros, Neleus and Basile, temenos
Koile (deme)
Koile road
Konon
Konon, grandson of Konon
Kylon
Kyloneion
Kynosarges cemetery
Kynosarges gymnasium

Lachares
Lakedaimonians
Lamian War
Lampon
Leokoreion

Library of Pantainos
lithologima
Long Walls
Lyceum (gymnasium)
Lysander
Lysikrates monument

Marathon, battle of
Mardonios
megaron
Melite (deme)
Melitides gate
Metroon (archive building)
Mikion
Mint
Mithridates of Pontos (king)
Mounychia, fort

Nikias

Olympian Ge, sanctuary

Pan, cave of
Panathenaic procession
Panathenaic Way
Pantheon (so-called)
parodos
Parthenon
Peisistratids
Peisistratos
Pelargikon (Pelasgikon)
Pelasgians
Peloponnesian War
Persian Wars
Phaleric wall
Phaleron, harbour
Philip II of Macedon (king)
Philip V of Macedon (king)
Phosphorius
Piraeus, harbour
Piraeus, walls of
Piraic gate

Piræic road
Pompeion
Pompey
Ptolemy II Philadelphos

Sacred Gate
Sacred Way
Socrates
Sulla

Talos, tomb of
Telemachos
Themistokles
Theodosius II (Byzantine emperor)
Thessalos
Theseus
Tholos
Thriasiai gate
triplokon
Tripods, street

Valerian (Roman emperor)
vassilikon teichos

Names of Travellers and Scholars

Alabe, Françoise

Babin, père

Barbié du Bocage, Jean-Denis

Barnabé, père

Barthélemy, Jean-Jacques

Beschi, Luigi

Bodnar, Edward William

Bolzanio, Urbano

Botticher, Adolf

Brückner, Alfred

Burnouf, Émile

Camp, John Mck II

Capuchin monks

Carrey, Jacques

Chandler, Richard

Chateaubriand, François-René

Choisseul-Gouffier, Marie-Gabriel-Florent-Auguste

Choniates, Michael

Choniates, Niketas

Chrysovergis, Loukas

Clarke, Edward Daniel

Conwell, David Hulburt

Conze, Alexander

Coronelli, Vincenzo

Curtius, Ernst

Cyriacus of Ancona

Dilettanti Society

Dodwell, Edward

Dörpfeld, Wilhelm

Du Loir, Nicolas

Dyer, Thomas Henry

Edresi, Mohamed

Efstratiades, Panayiotis

Fanelli, Francesco
Fauvel, Louis-François-Sebastien
Favolio, Hugo
Forchhammer, Peter Wilhelm

Gardner, Ernest Arthur
Garlan, Yvon
Gell, William
Gruben, Gottfried
Guillet, Georges

Harrison, Jane Ellen
Hawkins, John
Hobhouse, John Cam
Holland, Henry

Iakovidis, Spyridon
Ittar, Sebastiano

Judeich, Walther

Kahrstedt, Ulrich
Karouzou, Semni
Kaupert, Johann August
Kavasilas, Symeon
Keramopoulos, Antonios
Kleanthis, Stamatios
Korres, Manolis
Koumanoudes, Stephanos Athanasiou
Koumanoudes, Stephanos Nikolaou
Kraus, Martin

Lalonde, Gerald
Leake, William Martin
Lolling, Habbo Gerhard
Lubenau, Reinhold

Magni, Cornelio
Maier, Franz Georg
Martoni, Nicolo
Matthaiou, Angelos
Meurs, Jan

Milchhöfer, Arthur
Montagu, John (Earl of Sandwich)

Noack, Ferdinand
Nointel, Marquis de

Ohly, Dieter

Papachatzis, Nikolaos
Pevranoglu, Petros
Philios, Demetrios
Pinon, Jean Carlier
Pittakis, Kyriakos
Pococke, Richard
Potter, John

Quinet, Edgar

Randolf, Bernard
Rangavis, Alexandros Rizos
Revett, Nicolas
Ross, Ludwig
Rous, Francis
Rousopoulos, Athanasios
Rügler, Axel

Saeewulf
Schaubert, Eduard
Scranton, Robert Lorentz
Simon de Compiègne, père
Skias, Andreas
Sourmelis, Dionysios
Spon, Jacob
Stuart, James

Tanoulas, Tassos
Thompson, Homer Armstrong
Threpsiades, Ioannis
Travlos, John

Vanderpool, Eugene
Verneda, Giacomo
Vienna Anonymous

von Alten, Georg
von Strantz, C.

Wachsmuth, Curt
Walbank, Michael
Walpole, Robert
Ward-Perkins, John Bryan
Weller, Charles Heald
Wheler, George
Wilkins, William
Williams, Hugh William
Winter, Frederick
Wordsworth, Christopher

Young, Rodney Stuart

Ziller, Ernst
Zygomalas, Theodosios

Modern / Contemporary Places and Monuments

Agia Triada church
Agios Athanasios Kourkouris church
Agios Demetrios Katiphoris church
Agios Demetrios Loubardiaris church
Agora
Aiolos Hotel
Alexandrakis house
Apolloniou square
Arch of Hadrian
Arvanitiki gate

Benaki Museum of Islamic Art
Benizeli mansion
Beulé gate

Chomatianos house
Christ church

Dekozis-Vouros, Stamatios house
Domnados house
Duchess of Plaisance mansion

Elaionas
Eridanos River

Gaspari mansion
Grande Bretagne Hotel

Haseki Ali wall
Hymettos, Mount
Hypapanti church
Hypapanti wall

Ilissos River

Justinian (Roman/Byzantine emperor)

Kalamis Ioannis house
Karastamatis house
Karditsis Christos house
Klafthmonos square
Kontostavlos house
Kostis house
Kotzia square
Koumoundourou square (Eleftherias or Loudovikou square)

Leon Melas house
Library of Hadrian
Limnios house

Medrese
Megali Panagia church
Mesogaia plain
Morea gate
Mouseion Hill/Hill of the Muses (Philopappos)
Museum of the City of Athens

National Gardens
Nymphs Hill (Observatory)

Odeion of Herodes Atticus (Herodeion)
Odysopoulos Iakovos house
Old Parliament building
Olympieion (temple of Olympian Zeus)
Otto King, temporary residence

Panagia Krystalliotissa church
Panagia Pyrgiotissa church
Panagia tou Sarri church
Penteli, Mount
Petrakis Anargyros house
Petsas house
Philopappos monument
Pnyx Hill
Psoma Louiza house

Rizokastro
Royal Stables

Russian church (Soteira Lykodemou)

Schliemann house

Serpentzé wall

Stadium

Stoa of Attalos

Stoa of Eumenes

Syntagma square

Theatre of Dionysos

Theatrou square

Vasileios Melas mansion

Vlassarou neighbourhood

Weiler building

Zappeion Megaron

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Notes

The ancient Greek and Latin testimonia are generally taken from the Loeb series; exceptions are noted when another edition is preferred. All translations are by Robert K. Pitt unless otherwise noted.

Hurwit (1999) 70.

Holland (1924) 155–156; Iakovidis (2006) 114; Hurwit (1999) 71–72.

See Holland (1924) 143. Holland (1924) 146 argued that access to the *megaron* must initially have been through a gateway placed at the top of the northeastern ascent of the rock; see the discussion in Mylonas (1966) 36–37.

Excavations in the area west and south of the Asklepieion up to the Stoa of Eumenes have revealed residential activity principally during LH II, LH IIIA1, and LH IIIA2 (ca. 1500–1300 B.C.), while a few of the sherds dated to EH and LH 1 (ca. 1575–1500 B.C.), see Platon (1964) 30; Platon (1965) 28–29, 32, and fig. 6 on p. 30. For the discovery of MH to LH III sherds in the region of the sanctuary of Dionysos Eleuthereus, see Kalligas (1963) 14. Cf. Iakovidis (2006) 223; *Agora* XIII, 113–114; Pantelidou (1975) 29–33,

239; Mountjoy (1995) 18, 25–28.

Thuc. 2.15.3: ‘and the area below it (the Acropolis) to the south’. Residential development has been identified from around the same time in areas extending southeast of the Acropolis, some distance from the rock, such as on the north bank of the Ilissos, to the south of the Olympieion precinct, and in the region of the Arch of Hadrian, see Travlos (1971) 290; Pantelidou (1975) 148. For the discovery of Mycenaean pottery in the lower areas to the south and southeast dating from LH I to LH IIIB (ca. 1575–1190 B.C.), see Mountjoy (1995) 14–15, 17–18, 32–36, 46.

Iakovidis (2006) 228. For the dating of the Mycenaean wall to the second half of the 13th century B.C., see Broneer (1939) 424.

The classic study of the Mycenaean walls remains S. E. Iakovidis, *The Mycenaean Acropolis of Athens*, Athens 2006. A section of the fortification is visible today by the south wall of the Propylaia, see Iakovidis (2006) 177–181, fig. 29.

Marinatos (1962) 12–13.

For the Pelasgians, see Giannopoulos (2012) 91–94.

For the problem of Athenian autochthony and the Acropolis, see Broneer (1956) 10; Hurwit (1999) 70. According to Thucydides (1.2), the same people had always lived in Attica: ἄνθρωποι ὧκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ.

For the difficulties arising from the use of the two names, see Harrison (1906) 25; Camp (1984) 37. For some scholars, the name Pelargikon preceded Pelasgikon, and meant ‘stork-fort’, see Harrison (1906) 29; Judeich (1931²) 113; Wycherley (1963a) 76. For the presence of storks painted above the sculpted figures on the pediment roof of the temple known as the Hekatompedon, or the earliest Parthenon, see Harrison (1906) 26–28, figs. 12–13. For the view that the name arose from a corruption of sigma with rho, see Beschi (1967–1968) 390.

Hdt. 5.64: ‘Kleomenes ... drove the tyrants within the

Pelasgikon wall and besieged them'. Both the Oxford and Belles Lettres editions here give Πελαργικῶν, while the more recent Teubner edition has Πελασγικῶν. The manuscripts give both versions, information which I owe to Angelos P. Matthaiou.

Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 19.5: 'he shut up Hippias within the so-called Pelargikon wall, and with the support of the Athenians laid siege to him'.

For the north side of the wall, see Korres (2002).

For the Kimonian wall and the Periklean extension south of the rock, see Korres (1996) 73–74.

Thuc. 2.17.1: 'most of them settled down in the vacant parts of the city and in the sanctuaries and the shrines of heroes, all except the Acropolis and the Eleusinion and any other place that could be securely closed off. And the so-called Pelargikon below the Acropolis, which was under a curse that it should not be inhabited, and this was also prohibited by a fragment of a Pythian oracle, which said: "Better to leave the Pelargikon", nevertheless, under the present strain, it was completely inhabited'.

It has been suggested that the religious taboos concerning the Pelargikon were brought about following the removal of the Peisistratids because of the tyrants' occupation of the site; it then had to remain unoccupied, never to be used again for non-religious purposes, see Frazer (1898) 358; Judeich (1931²) 119; Gomme (1956) II, 64.

The name of the eponymous archon was not included in the inscription *IG I³ 78*, and so the precise dating remains uncertain. For an excellent overview of the proposed chronologies, see Cavanaugh (1996) 30–36.

For the connection between Lampon's amendment and the foundation of the Sanctuary of Asklepios in Athens, see Keramopoullos (1934–1935) 90–94; Travlos (1971) 127; Aleshire, however, disconnects these, arguing that the

establishment of the Asklepieion is later than Lampon's amendment and pertains rather to the control of the Pelargikon by the Kerykes, see Aleshire (1989) 7–9; Aleshire (1991) 223–230.

Especially referring to the sacred caves of the northwestern slope, which provided the stage for mythological episodes between gods and mortals, see Kavvadias (1897b) 1–22; Keramopoullos (1929); Travlos (1971) 148.

There is a possible reference to the position of the Pelargikon as being just below the cave of Pan in a passage of the comic poet Kratinos, whose works date to the 420s B.C. (*OCD*³, 407): χαῖρ' ὦ χρυσόκερω βαβάκτα κήλων, Πάν, Πελασγικὸν ἄγκος ἐμβατεύων ('Hail, revelling he-beast, golden-horned Pan, whose haunt is in the dell Pelasgian', trans. Edmonds (1957) I, 133, no. 321). The word ἄγκος is problematic since the manuscripts give ἄργος, and philologists have instead variously corrected it to ἀργὸν (Wilamowitz) and ἄγκος (Kock); see Kassel/Austin (1983) IV, 296–297, no. 359. I owe these observations to Angelos P. Matthaiou.

Ar. Av 1139: 'Another ten thousand stalks made bricks'.

Strabo 9.2.3: 'they (the Boeotians) drove out the Pelasgians to Athens, it was after these that a part of the city was called Pelasgikon, although they lived below Hymettos'.

Poll. *Onom.* (ed. Immanuel Bekker, Berlin, 1846) 8, 101: '*Paredroi*: these guard against anyone clearing within the Pelasgikon or, worse still, digging anything up'.

Lucian, *The Fishermen* 47: 'What are you doing, Parrhesiades? Have you made up your mind to fish up the stones out of the Pelasgikon?'.

Lucian, *The Fishermen* 42: 'The road up to the gate is full of men jostling after the two minas, as soon as they heard of them; others are coming up beside the Pelasgikon; others

by the Asklepieion; even more of them along the Areopagos; some, too, by the tomb of Talos; and some have set ladders against the Anakeion’.

Philostr. *VS*, 550: ‘Setting sail from the Kerameikos with a thousand rowers, it arrived at the Eleusinion, and after encircling it, passed by the Pelasgikon, and so conveyed came to the Pythion, where it is now moored’.

Giving an alternative interpretation of Philostratos’ παραμείψαι (*LSJ*⁹, s.v. παραμείβω II: *leave on one side, pass by*), Wycherley has suggested that, at the time of Herodes Atticus, the route of the procession would have continued along the Pelargikon after passing the Eleusinion, and will not have proceeded west to the Pythion of the northwest slope, but to the east and the area of the sanctuary of Apollo Pythios at the Ilissos, see Wycherley (1963a) 76–77.

Lucian, *The Double Indictment* 9: ‘Don’t you know that Pan ... lives a little above the Pelasgikon?’.

FGrHist 323 F16: ‘and they levelled the Acropolis, and surrounded the Pelargikon with nine gates’.

FHG III, 131, no. 49: ‘The sanctuary [of Hesychius] is near to the Kyloneion, outside of the Nine Gates’. Bundgaard argued that the Enneapylon is a term for the Mycenaean wall of the rock rather than of the slopes or of the Pelargikon, see Bundgaard (1976) 41–47; his interpretation has excited fierce criticism, see Thompson (1978) 257.

For the earlier bibliography on the Pelargikon, see Frazer (1898) II, 358 and Judeich (1931²) 113.

For suspected remains of the Pelargikon in front of the Beulé gate, see Jahn/Michaelis (1901) pl. III, no. 8 (plan by Brix): Situs et vestigia propugnaculi Pelargici enneapyli; Judeich (1931²) 116–117; Keramopoulos (1934–1935) 89–90; Platon (1966) 42. For the area between the Herodeion and the Theatre of Dionysos, see Harrison (1906) 35 and 38, fig. 16, site G; Keramopoulos (1934–1935) 95–97, and

pl. 1 (walls 13, 33 and 34). For the elevation of one of the walls of the so-called Pelargikon on the south slope, see Platon (1964) pls. 18αβ.

Iakovidis (2006) 203. Platon refers to 'part of the Archaic megalithic wall, of what it unduly termed the Pelargikon', see Platon (1964) 29. See also Pantelidou (1975) 33–34.

Iakovidis (2006) 221.

Broneer (1956) 10; Oikonomides (1964) 21; Mylonas (1966) 41.

Camp (1984) 41.

The different hypotheses are summarized in Beschi (1967–1968) 390–391. See also Iakovidis (2006) 198–199.

Curtius (1884) 500; Curtius (1891) 47; Bötticher (1888) 56–61. For a restoration that includes a proposal for the road network and the nine gates along the Pelargikon, see Bötticher (1888) 58, fig. 7. For the Enneapylon as a wider architectural or geographical area with nine distinct points, see Broneer (1956) 10–12.

Dörpfeld (1889) 65; Dörpfeld (1937) 26, fig. 2. Proponents of this position include Harrison (1906) 12, fig. 2, and 31–33; Keramopoulos (1934–1935) 89–90; Beschi (1967–1968) 390–397; Travlos (1971) 52; Camp (1984) 38. Travlos calls the wall that develops along the northwest, west and southwest slopes the 'external' Pelargikon, in order to distinguish it from the Pelargikon of the northwest caves of Iakovidis (2006); this latter wall continued into Late Roman times, acting as a retaining wall protecting the plateau of the three caves, see Travlos (1971) 91 and 57, fig. 67.

Wachsmuth (1874) 290–292. Wycherley argued for setting the Pelargikon on the western slope of the rock, see *Agora* III, 63, n. 138. Against the position of the Pelargikon being in front of the western main entrance: Iakovidis (2006) 205–206 and Marinatos (1962) 17. For the proposed parallels between the prehistoric and Ottoman

fortifications, see Papadopoulos (2003) 303–305.

Harrison (1906) 32–33, fig. 15. Alternatively, for the Pelargikon as a passage flanked by two walls that had nine gates, see Frazer (1898) II, 356; and as a long propylon or a passageway which snaked around the later bastion of Athena Nike, see Welter (1939) 7–9, fig. 4.

Iakovidis (2006) 197–221, figs. 36, 38. The existence and the course of such a wall is documented, according to Iakovidis, chiefly by traces of cuttings, and from the artificial levelling and filling-in of cavities with small stones for the foundations, see Iakovidis (2006) 210–215. Marinatos questioned Iakovidis' restoration of the Pelargikon as 'on the one hand very small and on the other completely unsuitable to the intentions of the lower Acropolis', see Marinatos (1962) 17. The building of a wall which would have had a length only of ca. 100 m. for the protection of a fairly small area (on average only 70 m. long and 12 m. wide) was 'uneconomical' as an operation, see Catling (1966) 271–272. See also Broneer (1963) 707–711.

Beschi (1967–1968) 389.

Parsons (1943) 192.

Similar questions are raised by Winter (1971) 62 and Lauter-Bufe/Lauter (1975) 7.

Maier (1959) 20.

Dörpfeld (1937) 27, 29; Harrison (1906) 31; Gerkan (1924) 26; Papadopoulos (2008) 44.

It has been argued that Herodotus' narrative of the destruction is exaggerated, see Rawlinson (1875) IV, 381, n. 4; Shuckburgh (1893) 91–92; How/Wells (1912) 291. According to Pausanias (1.18, 1.20.2), however, some old sanctuaries of the city survived, such as those of the Dioscuri and of Dionysos. For traces of destruction in the monuments of the Athenian Agora following the Persian raid in 480 B.C., see Camp (1986) 60.

Andoc. 1.108: 'taking back the city devastated, its temples burnt to the ground and its walls and houses pulled down'. In another speech of Andocides, probably delivered in 391 B.C., reference is made to the absence of Athenian walls 85 years before the debacle at Aegospotamoi in 405 B.C., where the city appears unwallled (3.37–38).

For this general problem, see Frederiksen (2011) 22. There is perhaps a relevant epigraphical reference in the text of *IG II² 463.53*: [τοῦ κύκλ]ου τοῦ περὶ [τὸ ἄστυ].

Thuc. 1.89.3: 'and they prepared to rebuild the city and the walls; for of the *peribolos* only small sections were still standing, and most of their houses were in ruins, only a few remaining in which the important Persians had had their quarters'.

Thuc. 1.93.2: 'for the *peribolos* of the city was extended in every direction'.

Dörpfeld maintained that, until the 5th century B.C., the Acropolis was simply called πόλις, and the unfortified lower city ἄστυ, while after the construction of the Themistoklean walls the Acropolis was called ἀκρόπολις and the designation πόλις applied thereafter to the city of Athens, see Dörpfeld (1937) 22, 25, 29. For the meaning of the word πόλις, see Koumanoudes (1976) 197–198; Koumanoudes (1997²) 35–37; Hansen (1996) 25–41.

See Hornblower (1991) 138.

Thuc. 6.57.1: 'outside (the city or its walls) in the so-called Kerameikos'.

For narrations of the same episode, see Hdt. 5.56; Thuc. 1.20.2.

Thuc. 6.57.3: 'they rushed inside the gates'.

For the ancient sources mentioning the Leokoreion, see *Agora III*, 108–113. For the location of the shrine by the Panathenaic Way, see Camp (1986) 79. Recent excavations

have provided new evidence as to the position of the Leokoreion to the south of the Poikile Stoa in the Athenian Agora.

Another related question is to which gates the Tyrannicides rushed; were they the gates leading to the Acropolis, where Hippias was waiting to receive the procession, as Aristotle maintains (*Ath. Pol.* 18.3), or were they perhaps the gates of a *peribolos* of the city which bounded the Kerameikos, just as depicted in Thucydides' narrative? For the first possibility, see Lang (1954–1955) 404–406. For objections raised about the accuracy of Thucydides' narrative, see Lang (1954–1955) 395–407; Winter (1971) 62–62. For the difficulties of understanding the Tyrannicides' plan if Hippias was located on the Acropolis, see Brunnsaker (1971) 14.

Agora III, 221–224.

Shear (1940) 267, 299; *Agora* III, 223; *Agora* XIX, 28, H30; Camp (2005) 197–198, fig. 2 (p. 199).

Stroszeck (2003) 55.

Note that the use of boundary-markers of the Kerameikos might not have been to delimit the area of the Potters' Quarter, but rather to protect the wide road called Kerameikos, which crossed it from casual installations that at times threatened to encroach upon it (small structures, scaffolding), see *Agora* XIX, 11–12; Stroszeck (2003) 68–69. For the Kerameikos Road, see Stroszeck (2017) 40–47.

Agora XIX, 12; Camp (2005) 197–198.

There are further ancient references which suggest the existence of an Archaic *peribolos* of the city, but they provide only ambiguous evidence. Thucydides uses the phrase ἔξω τῆς πόλεως (1.126.6) in his narrative of Kylon's occupation of the Acropolis in the 7th century B.C. as a topographical reference to the place where the rural festival of the Diasia took place; the Diasia happened in the neighbourhood of Ἄγραι in the Ilissos area, see *SEG*

21.541, col. I, ll. 38–40: Διασίοις, ἐν ἄστε(ι) ἐν Ἄγρας, Διὶ Μιλιχίωι. The phrase ἔξω τῆς πόλεως could be understood either as a simple toponymic designation or as a reference to the city being walled in the 7th century B.C. Aristotle refers to the ἀνοικοδόμησιν τειχῶν, a fortification project jointly undertaken by Themistokles and Aristides (*Ath. Pol.* 23.4); the words could be interpreted either as indicating a new construction or as a rebuild of an already standing wall, see Lauter-Bufe/Lauter (1975) 8. The Archaic walls of the city are also referenced in later writers, whose information is thought to have been derived principally from Thucydides, and as a result their evidence loses its value, see Nep. *Milt* 4.4 (1st century B.C.); Just. *Epit.* 2.15.1–2 (mid-2nd century A.D.); Aristid. *Or.* 1.191 (A.D. 155).

Fachard (2004) 96–99.

Lauter-Bufe/Lauter (1975) 2.

Kourouniotes (1931–1932) 8–9.

Snodgrass (1986) 130.

A fortification wall has been considered perhaps the most important feature of an ancient Greek *polis* of ca. 600 B.C., see Hansen (2004b) 136, and Frederiksen (2011) 118–119, 121–200, where he publishes all the data for Greek fortifications from the Early Iron Age to the Persian Wars (900–480 B.C.).

Judeich (1931²) 121.

Travlos (1960) 34. Among the supporters of an Archaic wall are: Lolling (1889) 299; Young (1951); Winter (1971) 61–64; Vanderpool (1974) 156–160; Lauter-Bufe/Lauter (1975); Wycherley (1978) 9–11; Winter (1982); Weir (1995); Hansen (2004a) 634; Frederiksen (2011) 47, 133.

Snodgrass (1986) 130; Ducrey (1995) 254.

Cic. *Fam.* 4.12.3.

Young (1951) 131; Winter (1982) 199–200.

Young (1951) 133 had dated the Archaic wall within the period between the second return of Peisistratos in 546 B.C. and the murder of Hipparchos in 514 B.C..

Judeich (1931²) 120–124, fig. IV.

Kurtz/Boardman (1971) 70; Weir (1995) 257–258; Greco (2001) 27–28; Capozzoli (2004) 16.

Vanderpool (1974) 159–160. For a challenge to this argument, see Papadopoulos (2008) 35–36. For the excavation of the retaining wall, see Platon (1966) 42.

Winter (1982) 202–203. Lalonde (2006a) 70 sided with Winter in determining the western course of the Archaic wall on the slopes of the Acropolis and the Areopagos.

Camp (1983) 115; Camp (1984) 41.

Camp (2005) 198–199, fig. 2.

Travlos (1960) 40.

Travlos (1960) 40–41, and pl. II (between pp. 45–46); Travlos (1971) 8, fig. 5.

Hdt. 7.140: ‘Fly to the ends of the earth, leaving homes and the heights the city circles like a wheel’. The word τροχοειδής of course does not infer that the walls formed a complete geometrical circle, see Macan (1908) 187; How/Wells (1912) 182. The phrase is usually interpreted as evoking the development of the residential, road and fortification networks with the rock of the Acropolis at the centre. Keep (1887) 283–284 takes the word simply as an adjective of the Acropolis; most scholars, however, believe it refers to the urban core, see Korres (2009) 77.

Dontas (1983).

For a summary of the proposals that have been made subsequently on the position of Aglaureion, the Prytaneion and the Agora, see Kavvadias (2005) 194–195,

appendix. For the public centre of the city during the Archaic period, see Schmalz (2006) and Papadopoulos (2008) 36.

Korres (2009) 77.

Ducrey (1995) 253.

Travlos (1960) 34; Weir (1995) 253–254.

Thuc. 1.91.6: ‘And now it seemed better to them that their city should have a wall, being of particular advantage to their own citizens and also for all the allies’.

For the value that walls possessed as a concept in the Classical city, see Hansen (2004b) 135–136. A passage of Andocides (3.40) is characteristic: the walls were seen as ἀρχὴν ἀγαθῶν. Earlier references to the value of walls for cities are found in Homer as well as in the Archaic poets, including Hesiod, Tyrtaeus, Alkaios, Stesichoros, and Anakreon; these sources clearly illustrate the recognition that a fortification *peribolos* was a constituent element of the city, see Frederiksen (2011) 34–38.

McNeal (1970) 312.

Thuc. 1.90.3: ‘Meanwhile the whole population of the city, men, women, and children, was to take part in the wall-building, sparing neither private nor public buildings that might be of any use to the work, but demolishing them all’.

Thuc. 1.93.1–2: ‘In this way the Athenians fortified their city in so short a time, and even today the structure shows that it was done in haste. For the foundations consist of all sorts of stones, in some cases not hewn to fit but laid down just as each was brought, and there are many *stelai* from grave monuments and worked stones built in’.

It has been argued that the stratagem Themistokles implemented was no more than an invention of the historian with two purposes: to explain the amount of funerary sculpture walled into the foundations as being

the product of urgent necessity, and also to celebrate Themistokles himself, see Stern (1904) 560–561. Another case of hasty city wall-building is that of the Syracuseans, who took only twenty days when the city was led by Dionysios II in 401 B.C. Sixty thousand men, split into groups of 200, built a wall 30 stades long, see Diod. Sic. 14.18; Camp (2000) 46–47.

The use of *spolia* is interpreted by Garland (1985) 122 as an element signalling political or religious upheaval, given that the destruction of grave *stelai* was characterized as a deliberate political act and a reactionary move of the young democracy to the aristocracy of centuries past. Stähler (1993) 22 saw the *spolia* as being apotropaic burials of heroes into defensively vulnerable parts of the wall to ensure magical and religious protection from foundation sacrifices. However, we might counter this by pointing to the fact that it was not the tombs themselves that were incorporated into the wall but the damaged monuments already lying scattered on the ground as a result of the Persian invasion, see Bähler (2001) 8–12, and generally Niemeier (2002) 47, 50.

The diplomatic machinations of that period are mentioned by Diod. Sic. (11.39.4–40.4), Cornelius Nepos (*Them.* 2.6–7), Plutarch - who also transmits the information from Theopompos that Themistokles bribed the ephors (*Them.* 19.1), and Justinus (*Epit.* 2.15.4–8).

Thuc. 1.107.1: ‘At about this time the Athenians began to build their Long Walls to the sea, one to Phaleron, the other to the Piraeus’.

Aesch. 2.173.

Thuc. 2.13.7.

For the first two Long Walls, see Conwell (2008) 37–64.

For the dating of the middle Long Wall, see Conwell (2008) 65–74.

The earthquake of 426 B.C. had its epicentre at Skarpheia

in Eastern Lokris and was accompanied by a large tidal wave which caused the collapse of buildings and many deaths; the earthquake of 420 B.C. was less than 6 on the Richter scale, see Papazachos/Papazachou (2003) 161–162. A meeting of the Ekklesia was postponed because of this second earthquake, but resumed the following day.

Thucydides (3.87.4) says that an earthquake happened in the same year, but the passage does not make clear whether the particular earthquake was felt in Athens.

Ar. *Eq.* 817–818: ‘But *you* have tried to destroy the greatness of the Athenians’ city by rearing barriers between them and chanting oracles – you who set yourself up against Themistokles!’ (trans. Sommerstein).

See *LSJ*⁹, s.v. διατειχίζω, *cut off and fortify by a wall*.

The assumption that the passage is an indirect reference to a fortification is supported by a scholion to Aristophanes (*Eq.* 817): μικροπολίτας: διὰ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου στενοχωρίαν τῶν ἀναλωμάτων καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν σπάνιν συνέστειλαν τὰ τεῖχη (‘citizens of a petty state: due to serious concerns about the costs and a limited number of men, they reduced the length of the walls’), and on l. 818: διατειχίζων: συνάγων καὶ συστέλλων τὰ τεῖχη. διὰ γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τοῖς φρουρίοις ἀναλώματα καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνδρῶν σπάνιν συνέστειλαν τὰ τεῖχη (Jones/Wilson [1969]) (‘cut off with a wall: connects and reduces the length of the walls; as a result of the war and the costs of guarding them, but also because of the limited number of men, they reduced the length of the walls’).

Xen. *Hell.* 2.2.23: ‘with great enthusiasm they pulled down the walls to the music of flute-players, thinking that that day was the beginning of freedom for Greece’.

See Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.3; Diod. Sic. 14.85.2–3; Strabo 9.1.15, 14.2.9; Plut. *Vit. Lys.* 12.15.1; *Vit. Alc.* 37.3; Paus. 1.2.2. The unwallled city of Athens is mentioned by the orators: Isocrates (14.40): ἐξ ἀτειχίστου μὲν τῆς πόλεως

ὀρμηθέντες ('you depended on a city without walls'); and Demosthenes (18.96): οὔτε ναῦς, οὔτε τείχη τῆς πόλεως τότε κεκτημένης ('at that time the city had neither ships nor walls').

Plut. *Vit. Lys.* 14.5: 'if he dared to act and speak against Themistokles, by surrendering the walls to the Lakedaimonians which he had erected in defiance of them'. Interestingly, he received the response (14.6): 'But, young man, I am doing nothing contrary to Themistokles; for these same walls which he erected for the safety of the citizens, we shall tear down for their safety. And if walls made the cities prosperous, then Sparta must be in the worst plight of all, since she has none'.

Isoc. *To Philip* 5.64 (346 B.C.): 'not only did he rebuild the walls of his homeland, but he restored Athens to the same high reputation from which she had fallen'.

Dem. 20.72: 'but the most noble deed of all was his restoration of the walls'. See Aristid. *Or.* 1.280.

For Theban wall builders, see Cooper (2000) 185–188.

See Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.9–10; Diod. Sic. 14.85.3; and Plut. *Mor., Sayings of Spartans* 213B.

FGrHist 328, F40: Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ εἰς «Ἀθηναίων» φησὼν «ἀρξαμένων τειχίζειν τὸν Πειραιᾶ, οἱ θ' ἄρχοντες τοῦτον ἀναθέντες ἐπέγραψαν· Ἀρξάμενοι πρῶτοι τειχίζειν οἷδ' ἀνέθηκαν βουλῆς καὶ δήμου δόγμασι πειθόμενοι» ('Philochoros in (Book) Five says: When the Athenians began to fortify the Piraeus, the nine archons set this up and inscribed it: "When first beginning to build the fortifications, these men erected this obeying the resolutions of the Boule and the Demos"'). See also *FGrHist* 328, F146: ἀπὸ δὲ ταύτης τῆς ναυμαχίας ὁ Κόνων καὶ τὰ [μακρὰ] τείχη τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀνέστησεν [ἂν ἀκόν]των Λακεδαιμονίων, καθάπερ [π]άλιν ὁ αὐτὸς συγγραφεὺς ἱστορεῖ ('And after this naval battle, Konon also restored the [Long W]alls for the Athenians despite the [unwilling]ness of the Lakedaimonians, just as the same

writer records once again’).

There are potentially two phases in the planning of this project, one before the battle of Knidos and the other after the arrival of Konon, see Eickstedt (1991) 29, n. 112. For the view that the works began in the summer of 395 B.C., but also with a review of earlier hypotheses, see Funke (1980) 104, n. 5.

Many centuries later, during the 3rd century A.D., Diogenes Laertius says that the fortifications of Konon were completed six years after the death of Socrates, namely in 393 B.C. (2.39): τῶν ὑπὸ Κόνωνος τειχῶν ἀνασταθέντων, ἃ γέγονεν ἔτεσιν ἑξ τῆς τοῦ Σωκράτους τελευτῆς ὕστερον.

See Travlos (1960) 50; Knigge (1991) 49; Travlos (1971) 158; Spathari (1987) 21.

Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.9: [ὁ Κόνων] συναναστήσοι τά τε μακρὰ τείχη τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ τὸ περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ τείχος (‘he would help the Athenians in rebuilding their Long Walls and the wall around Piraeus’); Arr. *Anab.* 1.9.3: καὶ ἡ πόλις οὐδὲν ἄλλο ὅτι μὴ τῶν μακρῶν τειχῶν καθαιρέσει ἐς ταπεινότητα ἀφικομένη (‘and the city received no other humiliation than being forced to demolish the Long Walls’); Diod. Sic. 14.85.2: τοῦ γὰρ Πειραιέως τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰ μακρὰ σκέλη καθήρητο κατὰ τὰς Λακεδαιμονίων συνθήκας (‘for the walls of the Piraeus and the Long Walls had been destroyed in accordance with the terms of the Lakedaimonians). For the demolition of the Long Walls and those of the city of Piraeus, see Conwell (2008) 103–105.

Andoc. 3.36; Isoc. 16.40; Dem. 18.96; Aristid. *Or.* 1.252; Dion. Hal. 11.1.3; Plut. *Mor.* 349d; Polyb. 38.2.6. Lysias refers to the demolition of the walls in general (12.63, 12.68), or to the walls of the *patris* (12.40), but also to the extent of the demolition of the Long Walls (ten stadia from each arm) (13.8).

Only later writers mention the reconstruction of the *asty*

walls, see Plut. *Mor.*, *Sayings of Spartans* 213b; Vit. *Lys.* 14.6; Nep. *Konon* 4.4; Just. *Epit.* 6.5.9; Orosius 3.1.23–24.

The *stelai* inscribed with the building regulations and specifications were set up near the relevant parts of the fortifications that the *nomothetai* or the architects aimed to strengthen, see Richardson (2000) 607.

For the view that the Spartans did not proceed with the destruction of the walls of the *asty*, see Conwell (2008) 105.

For the dating of the *Poroi*, see Gauthier (1976) 1–6.

Xen. *Poroi* 6.1: ‘and having gained a large surplus of money, we would perform our festivals with even greater splendour than today, we would repair our sanctuaries, and rebuild the walls and the shipyards’. Among other proposals for securing the silver mines in wartime, Xenophon suggests the building of a third fortification at the highest point of Besa, between the southern wall of Anaphlystos and the northern at Thorikos (*Poroi* 4.44).

Dem. 3.29: “‘But, my dear sir, even if these things are unsatisfactory, the city itself is now in a better state.” Why, what improvement can you name? The battlements we plaster, the roads we repair, the fountains, and similar rubbish?’ (trans. Trevett). For similar positions, see Dem. 23.208 and 13.30.

Maybe there is a double meaning in the words *τεῖχος*, *πύργος*, and *ἀπάγειν*, something that would have provoked laughter in the audience. It has been suggested that *πύργος* alluded to prostitution and *ἀπάγειν* to erotic seduction, see Adams (1919) 67, n. 2.

The naval power of Athens increased in terms of the number of ships, see *IG* II² 1611, 9; 1613, 302. On the purchase of wood for shipbuilding, see *IG* II² 1627, 353. See also Din. 1.96.

Cawkwell (1963) 61–66; Mitchel (1973) 192. For the prosperity of the city under Euboulos, see Plut. *Mor.* 812f.

See Ober (1985) 98, 217; Harding (1988) 70.

Lycurg. 1.16; Aeschin. 3.80; Dem. 18.36.

The χαρακώσεις were perhaps fences of wooden stakes (palisades) placed in front of the wall, see Wachsmuth (1874) 594.

Lycurg. 1.44: 'Yet men of every age offered their services for the city's defence on that occasion when the land was giving up its trees, the dead their gravestones, and the temples arms. Some set themselves to building walls, others to making ditches and palisades. Not a man in the city was idle' (trans. Burt). Stones from burial monuments of the Kerameikos cemetery were used on the fortification wall after the necropolis was destroyed; see Stroszeck (2017) 74.

These trees must have been olives, which were normally protected by law, see Petrie (1922) 109.

Mitchel (1973) 196.

Other literary sources mostly repeat known issues; only [Plut. *X orat.* 851a, gives the additional information that the excavation of two moats (*taphrous*) in Piraeus fell within Demosthenes' jurisdiction as *teichopoios*.

The project organization was from the outset placed under the strict supervision of the Council and was provided with legal safeguards covering various subjects; the law details the regulations for the project, the financing, supervision, fines and legal controls, the creation by the Council of a votive offering valued at 500 drachmas following the completion of the project, and finally the construction of moles at the port. For a comprehensive analysis of the content of the inscription and all the relevant bibliography, see Maier (1959) 36–48, no. 10; Conwell (2008) 135–145.

Cawkwell (1963) 66, and n. 109, proposed re-dating IG II³

429 to the period of Euboulos in order to join it to the framework of his military infrastructure. Mitchel (1973) 196 insisted on dating *IG II*³ 429 to 337/8 B.C., arguing that the circumstances after the defeat at Chaironeia adequately justified such fortification preparations.

According to Maier (1959) 43–44, technical and administrative supervision of the project lay in fact with the *epimeletai* and not the *teichopoioi*, who held something of an honorary position.

Mitchel (1973) 196.

According to Jones *et al.* (1957) 187–188, the inscription mentions the walls of Athens but also the border forts of Attica. For the view that the inscription refers only to the Piraeus, see Lawrence (1979) 282–283.

*IG II*³ 429.11–12: ‘but in order that money may also [be available] for the ... each year from the previous law ... ’ (trans. Lambert). I owe this observation to Ronald Stroud, whom I thank warmly. For the suggestion that this ‘earlier law’ may well belong to the period of Euboulos, see Cawkwell (1963) 66.

Diod. Sic. 17.4.6: ‘Accordingly, the Athenians voted to bring everything in from the countryside, and to take up the repair of their walls’.

Jones *et al.* (1957) 189.

Athens had catapults already from 370 B.C., see *IG II*² 1422 (371 B.C.), and by 326 B.C. was equipped with torsion catapults, see *IG II*² 1467. See generally Marsden (1969) 57, 65–66. Aristotle tells us that after the battle of Chaironeia the teaching of the use of catapults was introduced to the Athenian ephebes: καταπάλτην ἀφιέναι διδάσκουσιν (*Ath. Pol.* 42.3). On catapults mentioned in inscriptions during the decade 330–320 B.C., see Winter (1963) 378, n. 56.

Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 9.1; Diod. Sic. 20.45.5.

Knigge (1991) 40, 50; Stroszeck (2014) 79. An earthquake in Greece in 303 B.C. was reported only at Sikyon, see Papazachos/Papazachou (2003) 165.

Maier (1959) 48–67, no. 11.

The committee replaced the *teichopoioi* and the *epimeletai* of the fortifications in 393/2 B.C. and 337/6 B.C., respectively. According to Maier (1959) 58, the processes that determined the course of the project were a far cry from the democratic tone of the inscription *IG II³ 429* (337/6 B.C.).

In the first year, work on the foundations and towers; in the second year, work on the foundations and stairways; in the third year, work on the *parodoi* and mortar plastering; and in the fourth year, the completion of the work (anticipating the shortest delivery time of the project, excepting the mortar coating work).

See *IG II² 1487.84–90* (306/5 B.C.); Marsden (1969) 70.

Plut. *X orat.* 851d.

Text Maier (1959) 73–76, no. 14. We learn from inscriptions of the end of the 4th century B.C. that wealthy individuals participated in the wall repairs. *IG II² 505* is an honorary decree of 302/1 B.C. for the metics Nikandros and Polyzelos, who assumed responsibility in the years 306–305 B.C. for rebuilding the towers of the southern Long Wall during the siege of Cassander. For *IG II² 505*, see Maier (1959) 69–73, no. 13.

Gruben (1970) 126.

Paus. 1.25.8: ‘Demetrios ... brought a garrison into the city itself, fortifying the place called Mouseion’. On the Macedonian fort, see Thompson/Scranton (1943) 303–330; Carando/Marchiandi (2011).

Plut. *Vit. Demetr.* 34.5: ‘This was voted, and Demetrios on his own account put a garrison also on the Mouseion, that the people might not again shake off the yoke and give

him further trouble’.

For the chronology, see Habicht (1995) 102.

IG II² 463.52–53: ‘And he shall make a roof for the wall-walk (*parodos*) [of the] circuit around [the city, excluding] the *diateichisma* and the dipylon above the gates’.

Thompson (1982) 146, n. 44; Conwell (2008) 177–182.

See Conwell (2008) 237, fig. 8, no. 7.

For the dating of the middle arm (South Long Wall), see Conwell (2008) 65–74. For the dating of the north Long Wall arm and the Phaleric wall between 462/1 and 458/7 B.C., see Conwell (2008) 37–54. For the proposed location of the *diateichisma* at the western arm of the Themistoklean wall between the two Long Walls, see Pervanoglu (1863) 532; Curtius (1868) pl. 3.

Conwell (2008) 179–182.

For the abandonment of the Long Walls in the mid-280s B.C., after the construction of the *diateichisma*, see Conwell (2008) 182, 186–187.

Osborne (2012) 50–51.

For the meagre historiography of the period, see Habicht (1995) 160–161.

See Habicht (1995) 155; Osborne (2012) 51.

For this year, in which the archon Diomedon of the inscription *IG II³* 1011 (= *IG II²* 791) is placed, see Osborne (2012) 153, 156 and 158.

See Osborne (2012) 52, n. 125.

For *IG II³* 1160, see Maier (1959) 76–80, no. 15 (= *IG II²* 834); Habicht (1982) 118–127.

See Habicht (1995) 176.

IG II³ 1160.14–16: ‘[and the walls of] the *asty* and of the Piraeus he repaired along with his brother Mikion’. It should be noted that the inscription does not include the usual care for the Long Walls, apparently because at that time they had fallen into disuse. *IG* II³ 1160 is associated with the honorific decree *IG* II³ 1141, of 229/8 B.C., for the rich metec Apollas, who contributed to the fortification of the port of Zea.

Eurykleides of Kephisia, apart from serving as treasurer of the military fund (*IG* II³ 1011), held, among other offices, the hoplite generalship (στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας, *IG* II² 1300). See Habicht (1982) 179–182; Chaniotis (2005) 29–30.

In this phase of the war, the Athenians were supported by King Attalos as well as the Rhodians and their Roman allies; direct military support, however, was received from the latter, who sent twenty warships to the Piraeus and a thousand soldiers. The Athenians appear to have principally concerned themselves with the safety of their city and the Piraeus, see *IG* II³ 1261.10–11 (καὶ ψη[... ²⁷ ... τ]ό τε ἄστυ καὶ τὸμ Πειραιᾶ). On the course of events, see Habicht (1995) 199–203.

Habicht (1995) 221.

Meritt (1977) 182. See Maier (1959) 82–84, no. 17.

IG II² 2331.1–2: ‘When Sosigenes was archon, the following people dedicated [...] and the tower’. The inscription was found during the construction of roads leading to Phaleron, near ruins of the ancient city wall, see Pervanoglu (1867) 338–339.

In the catalogue of names recorded in *IG* II² 2331, we find three of the most prominent politicians of Athens in the years around 200 B.C.: Mikion son of Eurykleides, Echedemos son of Mnesitheos, and Diokles son of Diokles (the last two were sent as representatives of the Athenians to Rome in 191 B.C.).

Plut. *Vit. Sull.* 14.3: 'Sulla himself, after destroying and levelling the section between the Piraic Gate and the Sacred Gate, during the middle of the night came rushing through the city, causing terror, to the sounds of many trumpets and horns'. Appian discusses the pillage and slaughter which followed the siege, see App. *Mith.* 6.38.

Culley (1975) 218–219 suggested dating the inscription to the reign of Augustus. Baldassarri (1998) 242–246 dated it before the Augustus, not long after the general clearing up of the city following Sulla's destruction.

See Travlos (1960) 94, n. 2.

See Habicht (1995) 330.

See Hoff (1997) 43.

Corso (1997) 400.

Vitr. 2.8.9: 'et primum Athenis murum, qui spectat ad Hymettum montem et Pentelensem'. Plin. *HN* 35.49.172 also mentions that 'the Greeks had a preference for brick walls unless the location favoured stone construction, as brick walls last forever if built completely vertically. That was the way they built the public projects and the royal palaces, such as the walls of Athens facing the side of Mount Hymettos'. It is not known whether Pliny drew his information on the Athenian walls from Vitruvius or from personal observation.

Gregory (1982) 44; Camp (2000) 50–51.

For the eastern part of Roman Athens in the light of recent excavations, see Zachariadou (2008).

Dindorf (1829) III, 201; Noack (1907) 510; Kyparissis (1924–1925) 69; Judeich (1931²) 101, 163; Travlos (1960) 94.

Thompson (1936) 198; Scranton (1938) 536. Against this opinion on fortification building under Hadrian: Burnouf (1877) 9; Kokkou (1970) 169; and Wycherley (1978) 23.

Valerian and Gallienus co-reigned between the years A.D. 253 and 260.

The text of Zosimos is taken from the *Belles Lettres* edition.

Syncellos 381; Zonaras 12.23.

Agora XXVI, 117–118, 295 (period VI). The Mint was destroyed in A.D. 267 during the Herulian invasion.

IG II² 5201: 'The tower, a bulwark in wars but recently in disrepair, has now been truly fortified as a tower by the glorious hand of Panathenius, outstanding among men, in his wisdom and at his own expense' (trans. A. Franz). For the publication of the inscription, see Ricci (1893) 253. For a reflection on the dating of the inscription in relation to the identity of Panathenius, see *Agora* XXIV, 10.

For Dexippus, see Millar (1969) 27–29; Johnson (1983) 80.

Camp (1986) 197. For the impact of the invasion and the issue of its chronology, see Tsoniotis (2016) 722.

Agora XXIV, 13.

For the dating of the wall, see pp. 125–126.

IG II² 5199 (following the text of Sironen [1997] 99–100): 'Amph[ion] put [up the] walls [of Thebes] by music of his cithara; now [Illyrios] (put up the walls) in my home ci[ty], following the sweet-voiced muse. [Thus,] untiringly (the workmen) [seem] to achieve [all of] the limits of [their craft]' (trans. Sironen).

IG II² 5200 (text Sironen [1997] 101–102): 'This (wall) was not put to[gether] by Amphion's sweet-sounding [lyre]. Neither did [the powerful hands of the C]yclops bu[ild] (this wall)' (trans. Sironen).

Baldini Lippolis (1995) 173–174

Sironen (1997) 98–100, no. 30.

Sironen (1997) 101–102, no. 31. The inscription was read

by Pittakis in the Panagia Pyrgiotissa church, see *ARMA* 1998, 85, 380.

Sironen (1997) 100.

Sironen (1997) 20. For the dating of the wall on the basis of coins, see below in Chap. III, p. 125–126.

Agora XXIV, 9; Sironen (1994) 19–20.

Cl. Mamert. 9.3: ‘Athens itself, the inventor and teacher of the liberal arts, had lost every trace of public or private elegance’ (trans. B. S. Rodgers), see Nixon/Rodgers (1994) 408–409; *Agora* XXIV, 21.

Him. *Or.* 47.12 (following the text of Colonna): ‘The ship starts out from the gates as if from a peaceful port and unfurls straight its sails’.

Agora XXIV, 20–24, 49–50.

Him. *Or.* 38.9 (Colonna). Himerius gives in the same passage the following picture of the city: διὰ σὲ πολλὰ μὲν | [ἦδε καταδῦσα πάλιν ἀνηβᾷ τε καὶ ἐγείρεται, δάκρυά τε ἀφεῖσα καὶ θρήνους, κωμάζειν τε καὶ χορεύειν ἄρχεται, ὥσπερ | [ἄρτι τῆς γῆς ἀνείσης αὐ]τήν (‘Because of you, this city is young again and awakened after being much in decline. After shedding tears and lamenting, it begins to feast and dance, as if the earth had just freed it to do so’, trans. R. J. Penella, 246). The evocative description perhaps refers to seismic activity. For the dating of the passage to A.D. 340 or 370, see Brückner (1931) 10–11.

Thompson (1936) 200. Thompson does not return to this chronology and later claimed that the Byzantine walls on the three western hills of the city belong to the Justinianic period, see Thompson/Scranton (1943) 376.

Cl. Mamert. 9.4. ‘All the towns of Macedonia, Illyricum, and the Peloponnesus suddenly assumed a youthful appearance with their walls built anew’ (trans. Rodgers); see Nixon/Rodgers (1994) 409. The historian Ammianus Marcellinus (22.7.7.) says that after his arrival in

Constantinople Julian promoted the reconstruction of the cities of Thrace, as well as the border fortifications.

Zos. 4.18.1–2. When the earthquake happened, according to Zosimos (4.18.2–4) only Athens and Attica survived. Scholars of Zosimos recognize his work as a valuable historical source mainly because he used authors who today are lost, but they also highlight that he should be read with caution because of the often blind adherence to those sources. For an appraisal of his work, see Paschoud (1971) LXXI. The tidal wave that followed the earthquake is estimated to have severely affected the Mediterranean in 365 and not in A.D. 375, see Papazachos/Papazachou (2003) 172–173.

Frantz (1982) 36.

IG II² 5206 (following the text of Bodnar [1960] 177): 'Flavius Septimius Marcellinus, the brilliant, and one of the *agonothetai*, (built) the access to the Acropolis with his own resources. He renovated the ruined [gate]’.

Bodnar (1960) 40, 176–177; Beschi (2002) 337.

Frantz (1982) 36; Sironen (1994) 29. The Beulé gate takes its name from the French archaeologist Charles-Ernest Beulé who investigated it in the mid-19th century, see Beulé (1853).

See Sironen (1994) 28, n. 68.

Graindor (1914) 291.

Iamblichos (II. 2–5) (following the text of Raubitschek [1964] 64): 'for he built the towers, the walls' defence, giving freely from his wealth. Both through wisdom this Iamblichos adorned Athens (and at his own expense) he (raised) a mighty (wall) for the city'. See Robert/Robert (1965) 104–106, no. 155. For a brief reconstruction of the structures of the Agora during the time of Iamblichos and shortly before Alaric's invasion, see *Agora* XXIV, 48–49.

Zos. 5.5.8: 'thinking that he would very easily overwhelm

the city, which the defenders could not protect because of its size’.

According to Zosimus (5.6.1–2), Alaric abandoned the siege when he saw apparitions of Athena Promachos and Homeric Achilles standing guard upon the walls of Athens. He thus came to an understanding with the Athenians without harming the city and the rest of Attica.

For the archaeological evidence for the destruction of buildings in the Agora due to Alaric’s invasion, see *Agora* XXIV, 52–54. For the systematic hacking of the Parthenon metopes and the destruction of the pedimental statues, which seem to have taken place at the same time and in parallel with the burning of the temple, see Bouras (2012). The view that there was no military clash and destruction in A.D. 396 is advocated, at least in the Kerameikos, by the examination of the fill of pottery kilns, which were installed in the area of the Pompeion after the Herulian destruction. According to Rügler (1990) 289, it would be difficult for the fill of these excavations to date to Alaric’s time, and especially the pottery found below the Street of the Stoas, which contained finds dating from the Heruli to the 5th century A.D.

Synesius of Cyrene, *Letters* 136.7–8: ‘Beyond the names of well-known places, today Athens maintains no trace of its glory’. The text of Synesius is taken from the *Belles Lettres* edition.

Procop. *Aed.* 4.2.23–24: ‘he ensured the protection of all the Greek cities lying below [south of] the walls of Thermopylae, renovating all their circuit walls’.

In the border city of Daras in Upper Mesopotamia, fortified by the Emperor Anastasius in the early 6th century A.D., the height of the walls rose above the Justinianic by 30 feet, see Procop. *Aed.* 2.1.16. It should be noted that, when in A.D. 530. Chosroes besieged Daras, the wall had a height of 60 feet and the towers 100 feet, see Procop. *De Bellis* 2.13.17. For the raising of the height of the existing walls in Constantini in Mesopotamia, see

Procop. *Aed.* 2.5.7; and at the city of Topero in Rodopi, see Procop. *Aed.* 11.4.15. Ensuring a greater height was the main concern in the construction of the fortress at Isthmia, where the area was banked and levelled for this purpose before the commencement of work, see *Isthmia* V, 129–130. As regards the addition of towers in Constantini, see Procop. *Aed.* 2.5.6: τοῦ δὲ δὴ ἐρύματος πανταχῇ μεταξύ πύργοιν δυοῖν ἄλλον ἐντέθεικε, καὶ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ πύργοι ἅπαντες ὡς ἀγχοτάτω ἀλλήλοις ὄντες τοῦ περιβόλου προβέβληνται (‘and in all parts of the fortifications he introduced a new tower between each pair of towers, and therefore all the towers of circuit stood very close to each other’).

Maier (1959) 19.

For Saeewulf’s report, see Wright (1848) 32.

Οὗτος ὁ πύργος ἐκτίσθη παρὰ Λέοντος τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου ἡμῶν Δεσπότης Ἀθηνῶν καὶ συγκέλλου τοῦ ρέκτορος. Soteriou (1916) 139; see Sklavou-Mavroeidi (1999) 147, no. 201; Gratziou/Lazaridou (2006) 323, no. 542. A *sygkellos* is a priest assisting in a prelate’s court.

Bouras (2000) 234; Bouras (2017) 21–22.

For these two sources, see Lambros (1878) 54–55.

For an assessment of these contradictory comments on Athens, see Setton (1944) 207.

Mich. Chon. 8.2–3; ed. Lambros (1880) 54.

Mich. Chon. 5.23–26; ed. Lambros (1879) 159.

Mich. Chon. 12.7–8; ed. Lambros (1879) 316.

Mich. Chon. 5.12–15; ed. Lambros (1880) 106.

Travlos (1960) 162.

Mich. Chon. 9.8 (ed. Lambros 1879, 311).

For the *kastrinoi*, see Bouras (2000) 238; Papageorgiou

(2008) 163; Bouras (2017) 53.

Setton (1955) 255–256. For the Middle Byzantine residential units in the Agora, Areopagos and Theseion, the area of Syntagma square, the National Gardens and the Zappeion, the southern slope of the Acropolis, the Olympieion, and the Kerameikos, see Bouras (2017) 66–101.

Setton (1955) 235.

For the publication of the text of the *Praktikon*, see Granstrem *et al.* (1976) 5–44, pls. I–IV. See also Kazanaki-Lappa (2002) 643–644; Bouras (2017) 18, 51–52. The *Praktika* are a class of acts of the Byzantine state drawn up by the tax authorities and containing lists of real estate, see Granstrem *et al.* (1976) 7. This list contains information about the landholdings of Athens and its surrounding territory, but also of Attica, noting all their boundaries. It also contains indications about the inhabitants of the suburbs, with the members of each family, their property and their respective taxes.

Granstrem *et al.* (1976) 27.

Granstrem *et al.* (1976) 25.

Bouras (2017) 18, 23–24.

Nik. Chon. *Histories* (ed. Bekker, *Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*, Bonn 1935, 803): Τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν συμβάντα τῇ πόλει ('the events after the capture in the city').

Paton (1951) 22: *Haec civitas munitissimis moeniis*.

The letter was found by the abbot Hilduin while composing an account of the life of St. Denis, the first bishop of Paris, for the king of France between 827 and 834; it is believed to have been written in the monastery library, and is little more than pure invention, see Paton (1951) 20–21.

Paton (1951) 173.

For Martoni, see Setton (1948) 227–232; Paton (1951) 30–36, 173–174.

Paton (1951) 32.

Paton (1951) 32. For the accuracy of Martoni's calculations, see Judeich (1897) 432–434.

Bodnar/Foss (2003) ix, xx n. 1.

Bodnar (1960) 35.

Bodnar (1970) 105.

Bodnar (1960) 125, n. 5. According to Bodnar, Cyriacus refers to the surviving Mycenaean wall of the Acropolis east of the temple of Athena Nike, see Bodnar (1970) 105. Paton thought that Cyriacus here meant the Pnyx, see Paton (1951) 175. Cyriacus' interest in walls can be seen also at Eretria, where he made notes and plans of the ancient fortifications, see Ducrey *et al.* (2004) 56.

See Setton (1948) 234; Bodnar (1960) 37; Bodnar (1970) 105.

See Setton (1948) 234; Bodnar (1960) 40; Bodnar (1970) 190.

Porta novae civitatis, see Setton (1948) 234.

Porta acris, see Setton (1948) 234.

Bodnar produced a sketch of the walls Athens of the mid-15th century, proposing specific locations for the points where Cyriacus found inscriptions, see Bodnar (1960) 36, pl. III. He depicts two fortification courses: the Post-Herulian wall and the Rizokastro, following Setton (1948) 233 and (1955) 233.

Setton (1955) 241.

See Catalogue of Sites, PH5. This and other such codes

refer to the archaeological locations of various sections of the fortification (TH = Themistoklean, DT = *Diateichisma*, V = Valerian, PH = Post-Herulian wall) and to the sequence of consecutive sites where the remains are located (TH1–TH124, V1–V22, PH1–PH30); these codes are also noted next to the sections of ancient wall depicted in the map at the end of the book.

Cyriacus recorded many inscriptions '*in agro Athenarum*'; some of them have been rediscovered in the excavations of the Athenian Agora, see Bodnar (1970) 105; Meritt (1954) 249–250, no. 28.

Setton (1948) 233.

Makri *et al.* (1987–1988) 342.

Makri *et al.* (1987–1988) 342; Bouras (2017) 24.

Bodnar (1960) 40, 147; Bodnar (1970) 105. See Travlos (1960) 172.

Setton (1948) 233. The excavations of the Athenian Agora have found three fragments of the same inscription (*IG II²* 1104) along the course of the Post-Herulian wall, the first of which is thought to have been identified by Cyriacus himself 'next to the new walls of the city' (*prope nova Civitatis moenia*), Bodnar (1960) 147.

Agora XXIV, 128. The abandonment of the Post-Herulian wall is placed by scholars to the years after 1456, when the Turks conquered Athens, see Bodnar *et al.* (1965) 176, and *Agora* XXIV, 125. Recent findings from the excavation at the Benizeli Mansion on 96 Adrianou street in the Plaka have shown that the Post-Herulian wall was already abandoned in the 13th–14th centuries; see Tsoniotis (2016) 717; Catalogue of Sites, PH21.

Korres (1980).

Laborde (1854) I, 19: τὰ μὲν τεῖχη πρὸς ὕψος ἐγείρας, τὸ δὲ ἔδαφος διαφόροις μαρμάρους καταστρώσας καὶ τὰ τεμῆνη ἔνδοθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν καταχύσας (rather

καταχρυσώσας) ἀθήνας ταύτην ἐπωνόμασεν. The manuscript is kept in the National Library of Vienna; although it contains nothing of particular archaeological interest, it is a notable historical travel guide of the time with references to the names of the most important monuments.

For the dating of the manuscript, see Beschi (1984) 15. For the annotated publication of the manuscript, known until 1984 as the 'Milan Anonymous', see Ziebarth (1899) 72–88.

Ziebarth (1899) 73, no. 2.

Ziebarth (1899) 74, no. 3.

According to Judeich, Bolzanio is here talking about the Frankish wall, see Judeich (1931²) 16–17.

Dimopoulou (2006) 154.

Favolio (1563) 92a. A different version is given later by Wheler, who wondered why contemporary cartographers used names such as Athens such as Sainthenes, Setines and Satina for such an outstanding state. Wheler tries to explain this misunderstanding through a corruption of the name Ἀθήνη, which was used then by the locals. In turn, foreign visitors, paraphrasing the local designation εἰς τ' Ἀθῆνιν, arbitrarily refer to 'Stin Athini', corrupting the real name of the city, Wheler (1682) 345. See Dimopoulou (2006) 154.

Favolio (1563) 91b.

Jean Carlier de Pinon, Folio 14 verso, *Mon Voyage de Levant fait l'an 1579*: '... on véoit encores quelques antiquités, mais la plupart ruinées comme aussy la ville, laquelle ayant la forme d'un gros bourg n'est entourée de murailles ou fossez', see Laborde (1854) I, 49, n. 1.

R. Lubenau, *Beschreibung der Reisen*, see Paton (1951) 48.

Maps of Athens are not to be found in the large atlases of the period containing the most significant cities. The few

that have sketches showing Athens as a fortified city are products of fantasy, see the plans of Buondelmonti or Baptiste Palnaise in Laborde (1854) I, 9, 53. For other images of Athens as a walled European city, see Laborde (1854) I, 38–39, 40–41.

For the date, see Laborde (1854) I, 58.

Laborde (1854) I, 59–60.

Kraus (1584) book 7, letter 18, p. 461: Πάλαι μὲν τὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἄστὺ τρίπλοκον ἦν, καὶ ἅπαν οἰκοῦμενον. Νῦν δέ, τὸ μὲν ἐσώτερον (ὅπερ Ἀκρόπολις: ἐν ᾧ καὶ ναὸς τῷ ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ) ἅπαν ὑπὸ μόνων Ἰσμαηλιτῶν οἰκοῦμενον. Τὸ δὲ ἐκτὸς (τὸ ἀναμεταξύ φημι) ὅλον ὑπὸ τῶν χριστιανῶν. Τοῦ δ' ἐξωτέρου (ἐν ᾧ καὶ βασιλεία, διὰ μαρμάρων καὶ κιόνων μεγίστων: ἐφ' ὧν τῆς πύλης ἐπιγέγραπται μονόστιχον, καὶ ἔστι σωζόμενον: Αἶδ' εἰς Ἀθῆναι, Θησέως ἢ πρὶν πόλις) τὸ τρίτον, οἰκοῦμενον. Ὅλον δέ, ἐν ᾧ οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὄντες τυγχάνουσιν (... ἄνδρες, τὸν ἀριθμὸν χιλιάδες δώδεκα) ἀφ' ἑξ, ἣ ἐπτὰ μιλίων περιεχόμενον. See Laborde (1854) I, 58.

For the designation *triplokon* as the wall of the Acropolis, the Post-Herulian wall or Rizokastro, and the Valerian wall, see Bouras (2017) 25; as the Rizokastro, Post-Herulian wall, and Valerian wall, see *Agora* XXIV, 125; as the city wall, Long walls, and ports, see Kraus (1584) 594; Kreeb (2000) 350.

The city that embodied the ideal of Classical civilization during the Renaissance was Sparta, not Athens, see Stoneman (2010) 70.

Laborde (1854) I, 47–52.

63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85
86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105
106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121
122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137
138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153
154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169
170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185
186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201
202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12
13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35
36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58
59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81
82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102
103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118
119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134
135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142

Stoneman (2010) 28.

Stoneman (2010) 78–79. See also Constantine (1984) 2.

Meurs (1617) 4.

Meurs (1624) 175–184.

Meurs (1624) 180–184. In his second enumeration, Meurs adds the four gates Aigeos, Sacred, Itonian and Skaiai; additionally, we have three names for the same gate: Triasiai, Dipylon, and Kerameikos gate; the Sacred gate was removed to a different location.

Dyer (1873) vi–vii. In the mid-19th century, Meurs proved a useful source even to diplomatic and religious missions, see Laborde (1854) I, 177–179. Among Meurs' later publications that include the subject of the ancient Athenian fortification is *Fortuna Attica, Sive, De Athenarum origine, incremento, magnitudine, potentia, gloria, vario statu, decremento et occasu, Liber Singularis* (1622, ch. 3, 21–22), where he raises the issue of the city's size, lists the relevant ancient villages, and makes comparisons with other cities. In *Ceramicus Geminus, Sive De Ceramicis Atheniensium utriusque Antiquitatibus Liber Singularis*, there

is a reference to the Dipylon or to the gates of the Kerameikos (1663, 67). In his book *Reliqua Attica, Sive, ad librum De Populis Atticae, Paralipomena, Liber Singularis, Cui Accedit Auctarium ex itineraio Jacobi Sponnii V. C.* (1684, 49), he includes the statements of Vitruvius (2.8.9) and Pliny (*HN* 35.49.172) about the mudbrick walls of the city on the side facing Hymettos, which was to be repeated extensively by travellers, many of whom wrote that these walls were still visible in their time.

Rous (1658) 11.

Rous (1658) 11–13. When Rous wrote his book, he had perhaps not seen Meurs' second book, published in 1624, in which he had already included the Sacred and Aigeos gates.

Rous (1658) 8 (first edition 1637).

Potter (1706) I, 33.

Paton (1951) 52: 'Après dudit palaix on voit une porte fort antique'.

On the date, see Paton (1951) 61.

Paton (1951) 63: 'On n'en voit aujourdhuy des vestiges, qu'en quelques endroits, non plus que des murs de l'enceinte de la Ville, qu'on nous dit avoir esté de six à sept milles de circuit'. The Parisian mile was in use in France before the introduction of the decimal metric system and is equivalent to about 1,949 m. Based on the reference of Nicolas du Loir, the Athenian fortification was then estimated to be about double its actual length.

Laborde (1854) I, 78: 'La ville qui est sans muraille ni forteresse'.

The Prussian soldier Johann Georg Transfeldt also arrived at Athens in 1674; he kept careful notes of many Athenian monuments, but not, however, about the ancient fortifications. For Transfeldt, see Constantine (1984) 19, n. 12; Stoneman (2010) 71–72.

Babin (1674) 43–44: ‘je crus d’abord que c’étoit une porte de l’ancienne ville d’Athenes, & un reste de ses anciennes & superbes murailles, dont on ne decouvre point de marques ailleurs, cette ville étant presentement comme un grand village’.

Babin (1674) 11.

Laborde writes that Guillet’s book was an independent creation from Babin’s because, when Babin’s book was published in Lyon with annotations by Spon, the Guillet book was already in press, see Laborde (1854) I, 214, n. 1.

Guillet ascribed his work, with artistic licence, to an imagined brother called La Guilletrière, who theoretically prepared this work during a stay in Athens. Guillet often referred, however, to evidence from the Capuchin monks, quoting them in his book; perhaps the hypothetical names of authors lent a fictional tone to the books of the era, see Droulia (1966) 22. A similar creation would appear some hundred years later with Jean-Jacques Barthélemy’s publication *Anacharsis the Younger* (1788).

A *toise* is an old French unit of measurement equal to about two meters (1.949 m).

Guillet (1675) 213–214: ‘il n’y a plus que quelques pans de murailles, chacun à peu près d’une toise ou deux, attachez aux portes de la Ville, qui à leur égard sont pitoyables, & bien éloignées de l’ancienne magnificence, excepté une seule dont je vous parleray tantost’.

Guillet (1675) 352–353.

Guillet (1675) 249–250: ‘Il nous men avers la Porte de Dipylon, qui est la seule qui nous reste de l’ancienne Ville. Ce sont trois portes de suite, grandes, bien basties, curieusement travaillées, & qui meritent d’estre mises au nombre des plus celebres Antiquitez d’Athenes’. The propylon of the Library of Hadrian, referred to here by Guillet, gave the impression of a fortified gate because of the successive passages through it, see Knithakis *et al.*

Guillet (1675) 275: 'Nous passâmes par un endroit, où avoir esté l'ancienne porte qu'ils apelloient Pylæ Hyppades, comme qui diroit la porte aux chevaux, à cause que dans ce Colonos Hippios on trouvoit quantité de chevaux de loüage'.

Guillet (1675) 301: 'L'ancienne porte du Pyrée estoit à deux portées de mousquet de celle d'aujourd'huy'.

Guillet (1675) 335: 'L'ancienne porte de Diomea estoit au pied de la Colline de Cynosarges'.

Guillet (1675) 338: 'En descendant de Cynosarge par l'endroit de la Colline où estoient les Tombeaux des Anciens, on trouve sur le declin, la place où estoit l'ancienne porte Eriæ, ou porte de Sepulchres'.

Guillet (1675) 339: 'Nous passâmes entre la Coline du Chasteau, & celle de l'Arc de Trajan. ... La fontaine Panopis estoit là; presentement elle est à sec; & l'ancienne Porte Diocharis n'en estoit pas loin. Nous en laissames le terrain à la droite aussi bien que celui de l'Areopage, & de la porte Ithonia'. For further references to the gates: 275 for the Acharnian; 275–276 for the Melitides; 182, 339 for the Diochaes gate; 302 for the Aigeos gate; and 297–298 for the Sacred gate.

Guillet (1675) 251–252: 'on voit quelques restes d'une ancienne muraille de brique, qui est celle dont Vitruve a parlé. Elle regarde, comme il a dit, le Mont Hymettus, qui est proche du Mont de Saint Georges'; Vitruvius 2.8.9.

Laborde (1854) I, 245.

The recommendation letter which he received from the Marquis de Nointel for his journey to Greece is dated 15th October 1675, see Laborde (1854) I, 256, n. 4 (p. 255).

Laborde (1854) I, 245, n. 1.

Laborde (1854) II, 4; Spon/Wheler (1724) II, 76 (first

edition 1678): 'mais au bas de la colline on void distinctement les fondemens d'une autre muraille qui l'environnoit presque toute, & la rendoit d'un abord plus difficile'.

Laborde (1854) II, 22, n. 1: 'Ne vous éttonez pas que je n'aye pas décrit plus grand nombre d'antiquitez, d'une ville dont il semble qu'il devoit y avoir tant de choses à dire. C'est tout ce que j'y ay pu remarquer, et je crois même que grand nous y aurions fait beaucoup plus de séjour, nous n'en serions pas sortis plus satisfaits. – Je me suis contenté de décrire ce qui reste en son entire, comme ces beaux temples de Minerve et de Thésée, et les autres précieuses antiquitez dont il ne reste que des debris: sans vouloir vous en faire accroire plus qu'il n'y en a'.

Spon/Wheler (1724) II, 107–108. Spon also believed that the Odeion of Herodes Atticus was the Theatre of Dionysus and that the temple of Olympian Zeus was the palace of Hadrian; for the cautious attitude which made him opposed to local traditions, see Laborde (1854) II, 13–14.

Droulia (1966) 19–20; for Guillet's criticism that Spon never visited Greece, see Spon (1679) 16.

Guillet (1679) 112–114: il nous represente la Nouvelle Athenes avec une enceinte de murailles, quoy que constamment ce soit un lieu ouvert. ... Vous y voyés cette Enceinte de murailles, marquee à gros traits, qui forment des Tours rondes & quarrées, avec les Courtines comprises dans leur intervalle. Et il a si bien avoüé cette distinction de gros traits, que vous voyés dans ce Plan la vieille enceinte de la Ville marquee par de simples punctuations, pour l'opposer au circuit actuel de la Nouvelle Athenes. ... Si pendant la Guerre on s'estoit avisé de envoyer un pareil Ingenieur lever le Plan des Places Frontieres, n'en auroiton pas tire de grands services?'

Wheler (1682) 357.

Kavasila's reference of *triplokon* is contained in Spon's

book and was obviously known to Wheler, see Spon/Wheler (1724) II, 87–88.

Clarke (1818) part 2, VI, 211.

Wheler (1682) 346.

Laborde (1854) II, 32, n. 1: 'Nous remarquâmes qu'autour de chacune des portes qui restent à Athènes on voit quelque petite partie de murailles, mais que tout le reste est ouvert, ce qui est cause qu'on peut entrer et sortir quand on veut'.

Laborde (1854) II, 32, n.1.

Père Simon de Compiègne bought the Lysikrates monument and adjacent properties in 1669 to build the Capuchin monastery, see Paton (1951) 13.

Laborde (1854) II, 33–34: 'La première, du costé du chasteau. La seconde qui conduit à la ruë du Céramique et laisse le Bazar à main droit. La troisième, vers le Palais Adrien, et aboutit au Phanari de Demosthène qui est nostre maison, et la quatrième qui est sur le chemin de Medelli. Toutes quatre ont à costé environ douze toises de fermeture et le reste de la ville est tout à jour, sans aucunes murailles, et vous y entrés par tout, comme vous voulés'. Setton proposed identifying the four gates of Simon de Compiègne with the four gates mentioned by Cyriacus two and a half centuries earlier, see Setton (1948) 233–234.

Homolle (1894) 519. The oil painting is exhibited today in the central hall of the Museum of the City of Athens in Klafthmonos Square, on permanent loan from the Musée des Beaux-Arts of Chartres.

For the dating, see Paton (1951) 66.

Paton (1951) 66–68.

Vandal (1900) 170.

Magni (1688) 22.

Laborde (1854) II, 33–34.

Magni (1688) 46–47.

Magni (1688) 38.

Coronelli (1686b) 198.

Coronelli (1686b) 199.

Coronelli (1686a). Coronelli published a series of maps for many Greek cities representing their walls in the same way. The map of Athens was designed by someone who had not seen the Acropolis, but had probably studied the map of Spon. For the effect of Spon's map on Coronelli's first attempt, see Wheeler (1896) 181–182.

This second map of Coronelli took elements from that of Guillet, but also from Spon, as well as plans which originated from the Venetian siege of 1687, see Wheeler (1896) 183–189. It is marked with names and positions of five gates of the wall (Sacred, Acharnian, Hippades, Diochaes, a gate and a postern of the Kerameikos), while a dotted line surrounding the city bears the legend 'the peribolos of the ancient city of Athens'. The gate of the Kerameikos is shown on the map in the form of three consecutive arches, exactly the same way that Guillet had portrayed the Dipylon.

The preparation of the map was intended to display the scale of the siege operation in order to justify its expense, see Laborde (1854) II, 181.

Possible evidence for the urban expansion of Athens from the mid-15th to the mid-17th century is provided by Verneda's map, where he shows the peribolos of the furthest houses on the west side of the city; one notices how close they are to the temple of Hephaistos and how it includes residences which projected beyond the Post-Herulian wall, where Cyriacus had once seen only fields ('*in agro Athenarum*', see Bodnar (1970) 105).

Homolle, who analysed Carrey's picture, argued that the *peribolos* of Verneda's map and that depicted in the painting were the same, see Homolle (1894) 519.

The map of Verneda also noted the gate of the castle, which was not included in the survey of the four gates.

Chandler (1776) 25; Hawkins (1817) 476.

To the three gates of Simon de Compiègne (he cited four, including the gateway to the Acropolis), Verneda added the western gate, directed towards Piraeus.

See Travlos (1960) 193–194.

The wall took its name from the church of the Visitation (Hypapanti), which was built a short distance to the north.

Montagu (1799) 48. It is characteristic of the intense antiquarian interest across England and of the demand for travel writing that the narratives of Montagu were able to attract the English public even sixty years after his visit to Athens.

Montagu (1799) 66.

Weber (1953) 116, no. 513.

Pococke (1745) II, part II, 161.

Stoneman (2010) 120–126.

The editors of *The Antiquities of Athens* volume III assert that the majority of the text accompanying the map is a faithful copy of Stuart's own draft, which he had left incomplete, see Stuart/Revett (1794) i.

There is a reference on Stuart & Revett's map to the Serpentzé wall built in 1778: 'Farther on Westward is the Theatre of Bacchus [Herodeion], which, with the preceding building [Stoa of Eumenes], forms a kind of outwork on the South side of the Acropolis', see Stuart/Revett (1794) iv.

See Laborde (1854) II, 24. In his *Ἐγχειρίδιον τῆς Αρχαιολογίας Τεχνῶν*, Ludwig Ross wrote that the third age of archaeology, the scientific (1750–1840), was inaugurated by Stuart and Revett, see Ross (1841) 29.

Stuart/Revett (1794) iii–iv. The Latin adverb *forsitan* (probably) next to the labels for the Acharnian, Diochares, Diomeian and Piraic gates shows the reservation of the scholar about the proposed names rather than for the identification of the remains themselves as belonging to gates. Stuart located the remains of a fifth ancient gateway in the region of Agrai on the Ilissos, which, however, he left unlabelled, and the map does not include an indication of it.

Stuart/Revett (1794) iii–v.

Weber (1953) 125, no. 554. It is not certain when exactly Chandler stayed in Athens; his journey began from Smyrna on 21st August 1765.

Chandler (1776) 35.

Leake (1841) 98.

Chandler (1776) 86.

Chandler (1776) 89–91.

Chandler (1776) 89.

On the Diochares gate, see Chandler (1776) 84; Melitides, 25; Itonian, 112, n. 1. When a posthumous new edition of Chandler's work was published in 1825, Revett's notes were added; he argued that the Phaleric gate was east of the Mouseion and near the Ilissos, and he proposed instead, endorsing Gell, that Chandler's Piraic gate was in fact the Dipylon, and that Chandler's Melitides gate was the Piraic, see Chandler (1825) II, 29–31.

Leake would later attempt to interpret Chandler's paradoxical decision to choose Fanelli's map to accompany his work, attributing it to the fact that the

state of Athens' monuments had changed so little from the period of Venetian rule until the visit of the English traveller, a period of eighty years, see Leake (1841) 98.

Barbié du Bocage and Servois placed the ancient deme of Melite to the north of the city, the Melitides gate to the northeast, and argued further that the Dipylon, the Sacred Gate and the Piraic were three separate gates and not one, as Chandler had proposed, see Servois/Barbié du Bocage (1806) II, 550–553.

Constantine (1984) 198.

In the same vein, such an interest is shown in the travel writings of Scrofani, who in his tour to Athens makes only a fleeting reference to the Dipylon, see Scrofani (1801) II, 122.

Barthélemy (1894).

Barthélemy (1790) II, 225–263 (first edition 1788).

Barthélemy (1790) II, 225, 542.

For the collaboration of Hellenist scholars around the voyage of Anacharsis, see Tolia (1993) 334–335.

The map was recognized by scholars of the age as the third most important after Fanelli and Stuart, see Hawkins (1817) 476. The composition date of Barbié du Bocage's map is shown above cartographic sheet no. 14, see Barthélemy (1799).

On the cartographic work of Barbié du Bocage, see Tolia (1993) 325–343. The archival material of Barbié du Bocage is kept at the Gennadeion Library in Athens, see Asvesta (2011).

Fauvel (1811a) sheet 41. Fauvel states in the same letter that, alongside his own, there were also excavations in Athens undertaken by the English, which he says were even more important. Barbié du Bocage, however, took care to ignore the nationality of the excavators, and when

Fauvel's letter was republished in *Magasin Encyclopédique*, instead of the word 'English', he preferred to amend Fauvel and used the word 'étrangers', i.e., foreigners, something that can be put down to the rivalry between French and English intellectuals of the period, see Fauvel (1811b).

Some Fauvel manuscripts originally belonging to Barbié du Bocage were purchased in 1889 by Gennadios. Among these manuscripts there are brief comments by Fauvel on the 'Cyclopean' walls which he identified and studied both in Athens and in the rest of Greece, see Fauvel (1808).

Department of Manuscripts, National Library of France, ms. fr. 22871, f. 20r.

Information on Fauvel's eight gates are in manuscripts ms. fr. 22870, f. 91r, ms. fr. 22871, f. 20r, ms. fr. 22877, I (f. 4, f. 60r, f. 68r, f. 215, f. 255v, f. 245v), kept in the Department of Manuscripts of the National Library of France. For the gates of the Themistoklean wall according to Fauvel, see Zambon (2014) 103–104.

See Korres (2010b), Korres (2010g); Zambon (2014) 130–132 and pl. 5.

See Korres (2010b) 10; Matthaïou (2010) 53. The only chronological certainty regarding the map is the fact that it must have been finished by 1798, when Olivier received it from Fauvel during a visit to Athens, with the intention of publishing it in his own travel narrative, see Zambon (2014) 130.

The road system of the interior of the city is not included in the map of Barbié du Bocage, but he does mark some roads leading out of the city. Barthélemy himself did not shy from responsibility for the limitations of the map: 'We [he and Barbié du Bocage] differ on certain key points on the interior of the map, and he is not to answer for the errors that will be found in this section of the map. I could have covered it with houses, but it was impossible to discern the streets', see Barthélemy (1790) II, 556. Finally,

Fauvel reflected the shape of the residential blocks on his map, although with many inaccuracies, observed by Korres (2010b) 12.

For the date of Hawkins's visit, see Laborde (1854) II, 24, n. 3.

Hawkins (1817) 477.

Hawkins (1817) 507. For a description of the course of the walls, see Hawkins (1817) 477, 505, 507–508.

The map included with Hawkins' essay is titled 'A new plan of the remains of ancient buildings which are still extant there: after an original survey by Fauvel'. A significant difference from the Fauvel work is the position of the Kerameikos, placed by Hawkins on the south side of the Acropolis. According to Fauvel, in contrast, the so-called 'outer Kerameikos' was on the side of Elaionas, to the west and northwest of the city, as reported by Chateaubriand (1811) I, 205. For Hawkins' rationale regarding fixing the positions of the gates, see Hawkins (1817) 478, 508–512.

Tolias (1995) xxiv–xxvi.

Dodwell states that on the 4th July 1801 he was in Livadeia (Dodwell 1819, 213) and that on the 26th, probably of the same month, he arrived in Athens, see Dodwell (1819) 285. He then travelled systematically throughout Attica in 1805.

Dodwell (1819) 292.

Dodwell (1819) 385.

Dodwell (1819) 384–385.

Dodwell (1819) 288 (Dipylon), 392 (Piraic and Hippades).

Dodwell (1819) 407.

Dodwell (1819) 407.

Dodwell (1819) 391.

Seeking additional ancient evidence for his investigation, Dodwell found that in the region of the Arvanitiki gateway in Ali Haseki's wall there were many other ancient foundations and a fountain. This fountain is probably the one marked on Fauvel's map and identified as the 'Makrojanio' (Makrygianni) fountain on the map of Kleanthis – Schaubert; the fountain was outside the wall of Ali Haseki, and Manolis Korres calculates that it probably lay about 20 metres north of the northeast corner of the intersection of Makrygianni and Chatzichristou streets, see Korres (2010e) 89–90, 95; see also no. 37 on the sketch of the water supply system, p. 93, fig. 4.5, and in the table with the fountains of old Athens, p. 106.

Dodwell (1819) 392.

Pervanoglu (1867) 337–338.

Buscemi (2006) 137, fig. 5.

For the date of Clarke's visit, see Weber (1952) 5, no. 19.

Clarke (1818) part 2, VI, 306.

Clarke (1818) part 2, VI, 298.

Clarke (1818) part 2, VI, 311–312.

Clarke presented this information in a list of tables, see Clarke (1818).

For the date of Wilkins' stay in Athens, see Wilkins (1816) v.

Wilkins traced the main roads at the outskirts of the city, a useful tool for the investigation of the road network of that time, allowing comparisons with similar surveys, such as, for example, with Fauvel's map.

Wilkins (1816) 57.

Gell (1819) 35–47. Gell produced detailed measurements of the distances he travelled by recording the hours and

minutes of his journeys, and also the geographical miles between one place and another. An example is the distance from Oropos to Athens: 8 hours and 2 minutes (22 miles), and the distance from Athens to Eleusis: 12,098 steps (12 miles), see Gell (1819) vii–viii. For the date of Gell’s stay at Athens, see Clairmont (2007) 273.

Gell (1819) 35–36.

Gell (1819) 30, 35.

See Stoneman (2010) 155–162.

Leake (1821) 362. See also Leake (1821) 89.

It is interesting to note Leake’s comment on the development of the ancient city to the west, which is written in the bottom left corner of the map of the 1821 edition: ‘On the Western side of hills of Lycabettus [the Nymphs], Pnyx and Museum, are numerous excavations in the rocks of steps, aqueducts, cisterns, chairs, seats, foundations of houses etc. indicating that all this part although without the city-walls was thickly inhabited’. This labelling may hide Leake’s doubts about how it would be logical for such an area to be outside the walls.

Leake (1821) 362.

Leake (1821) 363.

The fortification line on Leake’s maps is accompanied by the label ‘Ancient Walls’, which are marked either as sections of visible remains (solid line) or as areas that the course was likely to follow (dotted line).

Leake (1821) 81. For the reasoning behind Leake’s positioning of the Dipylon, see Leake (1821) 71–74, 78–81.

Note that, according to Leake, the Sacred gate was identical with the Dipylon, the Thriasiai and the Kerameikos gates, see Leake (1821) 80.

For Leake’s reasoning regarding the position of the Piraeic

gate, see Leake (1821) 84–97; Leake (1841) 225–235.

Leake (1821) 94–97; Leake (1841) 235.

Leake omits here the Sacred gate, probably because he had identified it with the Dipylon, see Leake (1821) 80.

500 yards = 457.2 m., see Leake (1841) 445–448. The change in Leake's ideas about the gate locations is reflected in the map of the second edition of his book (1841): there he has added an anonymous gateway at the axis of the Stadium, and two new gate names (Eriai and Mounichia), albeit with caution, while along the western arm of the wall he swapped the positions of the Piraic and the Hippades gates.

Judeich (1931²) 125, n. 3, and 131, n. 1.

Chateaubriand (1811) I, 187–188.

Tomkinson (2002) 598.

Hobhouse (1817) I, 262. Hobhouse studied Pausanias and Chandler, but also Fanelli's book, which he had borrowed from Fauvel. His diary does not contain specific references to the fortifications or to the ancient gates.

Holland (1815) 408.

Weber (1952) see the section 'Athens' (around 260 references).

Quinet (1830) 353. Quinet was a member of the scientific and literary mission of the French government sent to Greece in 1828. He was interested in modern Greece and its relationship to classical antiquity, see Weber (1952) 41, no. 191.

On the map of Kleanthis – Schaubert, see Papageorgiou-Venetas (2010) 16–18.

These places are marked north of the hill of the Nymphs, along the current Erysichthonos street, and in the southern part of the ancient fortifications, possibly near

Veikou street at the junction of Syngrou Avenue with Donta, Negri and Vourvachi Streets, in Iosif ton Rogon, and also south of the Olympieion precinct; there are also indications concerning the ruins of the Post-Herulian wall in the Stoa of Attalos, see Korres (2010d) 68–69 (*diateichisma*: nos. 38, 39), 70 (Erysichthonos: no. 51) and 71 (Herakleidon: no. 52). On the paradoxical absence of recordings of wall remains on the three western hills, see Korres (2010d) 68, no. 91.

For this note on the map of Kleanthis – Schaubert, see Korres (2010a) part 6: ‘The Maps’, 6.2, 4. For the identification of a tower at the same location, see Korres (2010d) 71, no. 55.

Photos of these remains are preserved in the Travlos Archive, see Travlos Photographic Archive (folder ‘Threpsiades Archive, Petralona, Tower on Aphaias street’). See also Catalogue of Sites, TH124.

Koumanoudes (1882) 6.

Sourmelis (1853) 283. See Biris (1966) 9. Only sixty houses were left standing after the Liberation; on the testimony of Pittakis, see Travlos (1960) 224, n. 2.

In the original plan for this project, the north side of the Acropolis was to be left unbuilt, free for excavations, in order to highlight the landscape of the ancient city; this did not come to pass due to a vigorous resistance from property owners, see Biris (1966) 30–39. For the plan of Kleanthis and Schaubert, see Biris (1966) 26–30.

Biris (1966) 26.

Biris (1966) 31, 76–77. The area to the northwest was originally called Neapolis. In 1850, after the construction of the silk factory, it was renamed Metaxourgeio; the name Neapolis was then transferred to the northeast side of the city, where building work was extending towards, see Biris (1966) 99.

For Pittakis and archaeological matters during the period

of his service, see Petrakos (2013) I, 119–166.

For Pittakis and his work *L'ancienne Athènes*, see ARMA 1998. An unsigned map of Athens titled *Plan d'Athènes en 1820* was pasted at the end of some copies of the book, which marked the course of the Haseki wall; it was likely drafted by Kleanthis – Schaubert in collaboration with Pittakis, see ARMA 1998, 233–244; Matthaïou (2010) 54; Malouchou (2010) 56–61.

For Pittakis' publication in *Ephimeris Archaïologiki* 1842, 481, lemmata 751, 752, see ARMA 2010, 318–319, lemmata 2191–2192.

For Pittakis' references in the relevant lemmata in *Ephimeris Archaïologiki*, see ARMA 2010, 318, lemmata 2189–2190.

Until 1874 the house belonged to Antonios Demetriou, a ship owner from Limnos (hence Limnios), who in 1842 came from Trieste to Athens and built his residence to plans by Theophilos Hansen immediately opposite the palace. For Limnios' house, see Biris (1966) 128; ARMA 2007, 305.

Pittakis (1835) 205; ARMA 1998, 104, lemma 497.

For Pittakis' publication in *Ephimeris Archaïologiki* 1853, 920, lemma 1498, see ARMA 2010, 318, lemma 2228.

For Pittakis' references to the house of Odyssepoulos in the lemmata of the *Ephimeris Archaïologiki*, see ARMA 2010, 324–325.

For Ross, see Pantou/Kreeb (2005).

Ross (1846) 77, lemma 104 (in 1832); 89, lemma 147 (in 1833). See ARMA 1993, 25, lemmata 91–92. For the Kontostavlos house, see Biris (1966) 49, 66.

Pervanoglu (1863) 532–533.

Rousopoulos (1864) 225.

Rangavis (1888) 142.

Biris (1966) 161–163; Biris (2003) 20.

Koumanoudes (1870) 8.

Pervanoglu (1863) 533.

Pervanoglu (1863) 533.

Rousopoulos (1862) 303–304. Many graves were discovered in 1862 laid out next to each other in front of the north entrance of the palace enclosure, today's Parliament building.

For Pittakis' publication in *Ephimeris Archaialogiki* 1853, 920, lemma 1498, see *ARMA* 2010, 318, lemma 2228.

For the grave sites known up until 1862, see Pervanoglu (1863) 533.

Curtius (1865) 70.

Rangavis (1850) 116, 120–121.

Leake (1821) 374.

Rangavis studied the map from the second edition of Leake's *Topography* (1841); the same remains that Rangavis noted on the axis of the Stadium as an ancient gate had been associated by Leake with the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios, see Rangavis (1850) 116, 120–121.

Rangavis (1850) 121.

On the Kostis house, see *ARMA* 2007, 304–305.

Conze (1858) 178.

Rousopoulos (1862) 304.

For the traces of the wall at these sites, see Pervanoglu (1863) 532.

Pervanoglu (1866) 129.

Pervanoglu (1867) 337–339.

For the map in Curtius' *Attische Studien*, see Korres (2008) 71.

One significant improvement of the *Sieben Karten* was the addition of the topographic base-map covering the northern part of the city, from the Kerameikos in the west to Merlin street in the east. There are also minor differences in how the remains are indicated, for example, the tower south of the Piraic gate, which is square in the *Attische Studien*, becomes semi-circular in the *Sieben Karten*. Curtius' map in the *Attische Studien* used a dotted line interrupted by continuous sections at points where there were remains on the ground. In the *Sieben Karten* map, the course of the wall is highlighted with a dotted red line, which becomes continuous at points where the remains were denser.

One step is estimated between 0.70 and 0.75 m., hence 80 steps = ca. 60 m.

Curtius (1862) 67–68. Curtius mentions the presence of two towers, of which one may coincide with a tower found later in rescue excavations at Iosiph ton Rogon 28–32 (TH63), while the other is perhaps to be identified with site TH66 on the same street, but which has not yet been revealed by excavation. For references to these towers, see Judeich (1931²) 133.

Biris (2003) 28.

Wachsmuth (1890) 199.

For the chapters on the city walls, see Wachsmuth (1874) 336–347 and Wachsmuth (1890) 197–230.

For Pittakis' lemmata in the *Ephimeris Archaialogiki* on the Dipylon, see ARMA 2010, 270–277.

There are clear references to excavations of the wall in the area of Agia Triada from 1865 onwards, see Diary of P. Efstratiades, p. 29, no. 179, 28 April 1865, and p. 31, no.

199, 25 June 1865; see the Efstratiades Archive kept at the Archaeological Society at Athens. However, the excavations in the Kerameikos had begun at least as early as October 1863, the first year that Efstratiades started to keep his archaeological diary; in a document of the Ministry of Finance, dated 28 October 1863, there is mention of an excavation of a field belonging to Loutsika Lourioti in Agia Triada, see Diary of P. Efstratiades, p. 1. Panagiotis Efstratiades, general ephor of antiquities (1864–1884), recorded the archaeological work taking place during his tenure in his ‘Diary of the Service of the General Ephorate of Antiquities’, preserving a wealth of evidence for the history of archaeology.

Diary of P. Efstratiades, p. 31, no. 199, 25 June 1865.

Koumanoudes (1870) 8–11.

Koumanoudes (1872) 8.

For the importance of this boundary stone, see Koumanoudes (1872) 9–10.

Koumanoudes (1874b) 484.

For S. A. Koumanoudes’ publication in *Athenaion* 8, 1879, 144–146, see *ARMA* 1992, 62, lemma 283.1.

Noack (1907) 129.

The architectural character of Syntagma square was formed during the last two decades of the 19th century, see Biris (2003) 29.

On the population growth and building expansion, especially at the northeastern outskirts of the city, see Biris (1966) 164, 181–182, 198; Biris (2003) 28–29.

Burnouf (1877) 128; the author calls the Melas mansion the ‘grand hôtel Mélas’; it is, however, doubtful that this building ever operated as a hotel.

Rousopoulos (1873) 411–414; Lüders (1873) 258.

Dodwell (1819) 407; Leake (1821) 363–365.

Burnouf (1877) 7.

Biris (1966) 192.

Burnouf (1877) 7.

For S. A. Koumanoudes' publication in *Athenaion* 1, 1872, 169–172, see *ARMA* 1992, 30, lemma 6.

Koumanoudes (1873) 25.

Their position was determined by Matthaiou (2011) 265.

Curtius/Kaupert (1878); Korres (2008) 18.

Curtius/Kaupert (1881); Korres (2008) 19–25. The indications of remains of the ancient wall marked on the first maps of the two publications, *Atlas von Athen* and *Karten von Attika* (Sheet 1), are almost identical. On the second maps (respectively Sheet 2, Sheet Ia), the wall is restored using a continuous red line. One interesting difference between them is the positioning of the Phaleron road: in Sheet Ia of the *Karten von Attika*, the road has been shifted westward. Sheet 3 of *Atlas von Athen* is a detail of Sheet 1 and presents the southwest side of the city.

Sheet 1 of the *Karten von Attika* served as the basis for Lolling's study of 1889; while Freund based his map of 1889 on Sheet Ia of the *Karten von Attika*. A new reconstruction of the Themistoklean wall was published by Curtius in 1891 in *Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen* (map IV). This map has a few differences from Sheet Ia of *Karten von Attika* (a slight increase of the towers, especially in the *diateichisma*), and formed the basis for the maps of Gardner (1902) and Weller (1913).

On the history of Kaupert's maps, see the monumental reissue of the *Karten von Attika* series, edited by Manolis Korres (2008, 17–25).

Milchhöfer (1891).

Biris (2003) 28.

Rangavis (1888) 143.

Pernice (1892) 276.

Dörpfeld (1892) 449–450.

Dörpfeld (1894) 529.

The Philopappos hill was one of the first to be quarried after the Revolution, see Biris (1966) 70. The mining of building materials around the Philopappos monument lasted throughout the 19th century, often putting the monument itself in some danger.

Skias (1898) 71. The tower that Skias discovered is tower D2 of the American excavations of the Pnyx, see Thompson/Scranton (1943) 331.

Skias (1898) 70, pl. 1.

Judeich (1931²) 127, n. 2. See also Thompson/Scranton (1943) 330, n. 53.

Biris (1966) 246. The urban plan of the city grew from covering 3,203,000 m³ in 1878 to 15,980,000 m³ in 1907, see Biris (1966) 274.

Gardner (1902) 61–62.

Philios (1903) 43–45.

Judeich (1931²) 126.

Judeich (1931²) 130, n. 2.

Judeich (1931²) 125, n. 3.

Biris (2003) 27.

Judeich (1931²) 142.

Judeich (1931²) 125, n. 2.

Travlos notes that the construction of the new wing of the Grande Bretagne hotel was completed in 1929; see Travlos (1960) 94, n. 4. The same date appears in the notes he took following the demolition of the old building in the same spot (Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 2)

Dörpfeld (1892) 449–450.

Thompson (1936) 192–200.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 301–383.

Koumanoudes (1956) 4.

Travlos (1971) 169, fig. 219.

Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29. Travlos' map was for many years reprinted in the annual *Archaiologikon Deltion*.

This is deduced from information gathered by Panayiotis Efstratiades for his study of the *Plan d'Athènes en 1820*: 'the ruins of the walls that were in the house of Psoma were hence known in 1820', see Malouchou (2010) 57.

Pittakis *et al.* (1851) 4. This excavation was considered so important that the Archaeological Society was forced to sell half of its assets, 7 of its 15 shares of the National Bank, see ARMA 1998, 11.

Pittakis *et al.* (1852) δ', ε', στ'.

Pittakis *et al.* (1852) δ'.

Koumanoudes (1860) 13.

Koumanoudes (1860) 13.

Koumanoudes (1869) 7–9; Koumanoudes (1870) 7–8; Koumanoudes (1872) 4–5.

Koumanoudes (1861) 18. For the section of the wall next to the Church of Agios Demetrios Katiphoris and its

relationship to the putative Gymnasium of Diogenes, see Guidi (1921–1922).

Koumanoudes (1861) 18.

Pervanoglu (1863) 533.

Kavvadias (1897a) 17–18; Kavvadias (1898) 10.

Kavvadias (1898) 1.

Shear (1938) 332–333.

Kavvadias (1903) 16–17.

Kourouniotes (1911).

For the issue of the expropriation of building plots and compensation for their owners, see Biris (1966) 305.

Within the area of the excavation, 367 houses and parcels of land were located, see Shear (1931) 98.

Shear (1935) 334.

Shear (1938) 331–333; Shear (1940) 297.

Thompson (1959b) 95; Thompson (1960) 350–359. The synthetic study describing the wall was published in *Agora* XXIV, 125–141.

For the theory that the Library of Hadrian could have been a potential storage area for the state archives following the Herulian raid, see Castrén (1994) 2–4; Castrén/Gaddis (1999) 321.

For dating the wall to Valerian, see Koumanoudes (1860) 13; to the Justinianic period (A.D. 527–565), see Soteriou (1927) 28–30; and as medieval, see Wachsmuth (1874) 723. For the uncertainties hindering research into the late Roman walls of Athens, see Bouras (2017) 11–12.

For the discovery of these coins, see *Agora* XXIV, 6.

For the question of the wall's dating, see Tsoniotis (2008b) 69. For the objections of Greco and Baldini Lippolis to the established chronology of this wall and its attribution to the 5th or the 6th century A.D., see Baldini Lippolis (1995) 174–175; Greco (2002) 596.

Travlos (1971) 161; *Agora* XXIV, 5.

Korres (1980b). Accepting Korres' position: Fullerton (1996) 396; Tanoulas (1997) 265, 268, n. 6; Camp (2001) 225; Kazanaki-Lappa (2002) 640; Tsoniotis (2008b) 68.

Makri *et al.* (1987–1988) 342.

Tanoulas (1997) 255.

Bouras (2017) 15. The road that led to the Acropolis inside the Post-Herulian wall in the northern part of the city has not been studied, and we do not know how it ended at the sacred rock. According to Thompson, the Post-Herulian wall included the Acropolis within its limits, see Thompson (1959b) 95. For the difficulties of direct communication between the northern walled city and the Acropolis, principally due to the large difference in elevation of the two fortifications, see Bouras (2017) 15, 32, n. 142; see also *Agora* XXIV, 141. However, the theory of an isolated fortress is contradicted by the sections of the southern wall found along the Stoa of Eumenes and north of the Herodeion; this southern area can hardly have remained isolated from the Acropolis fortress, given that it was the last refuge for the inhabitants, nor from the northern fortified city, see Castrén (1994) 1.

One of Leake's followers concerning his proposed line was the English traveller Christopher Wordsworth, see Wordsworth (1837).

Forchhammer (1841) 21–22. Similar views about the relationship of the Ilissos to the fortifications were depicted on Spon's map (Fig. 10). A tendency to extend the limits of the ancient city is evident on the plan of August Traxel (1836): the three proposed fortification

walls of the city (of Pericles, Hadrian, and from the Turkish period) are represented in an entirely schematic manner and without reference to the surviving remains. The putative Hadrianic *peribolos* encompassed the Stadium and part of the Ilissos. For a critical review of Traxel's restored plan of the ancient walls, see Papageorgiou-Venetas (2001) 205.

Ross (1852) v-vi. Later, Wachsmuth would argue with Forchhammer's position: 'It can nevertheless be asserted with complete certainty against Forchhammer that the expansion of the city wall beyond the Ilissos into Agrai is inadmissible', see Wachsmuth (1874) 340. See also the comments of Dyer (1873) 87, n. 1.

Rousopoulos (1864) 225.

'And so the city wall cannot be extended so far as Curtius has done', see Wachsmuth (1874) 338.

Burnouf (1877) 9.

Dörpfeld (1888a) 231. The results of excavations at the Schliemann site probably led Rangavis to revise his identification of the remains within the grounds of the then Royal Garden with the Themistoklean fortification, see Rangavis (1888) 144. In 1902, following the advice of Dörpfeld, but also Curtius' latest map, Gardner drew two foundation lines of the eastern part of the fortification. Outside the expanded eastern *peribolos* close to the Stadium, which he called the 'circuit of the city of Hadrian', Gardner also recorded a second fortification line 'of the walls of Themistocles', near to the Acropolis, see Gardner (1902) 67.

Lolling (1889) 301.

See Amandry (1947-1948) 391. Scranton would state in 1938 that the Themistoklean wall identified in the northeast was Roman, at least at the site of the Grande Bretagne Hotel, see Scranton (1938) 536.

Kyparissis (1924-1925) 69.

Kahrstedt (1950) 60.

Forchhammer (1841) 12.

Curtius (1862) 62 ff.

Rangavis (1888) 143.

Lolling (1889) 301.

Judeich (1905) 116–117; Judeich (1931²) 126.

A long depression created by the collapse of cliffs, into which the Athenians threw criminals condemned to death, see Plut. *Themist.* 22; Xen. *Hell.* 1.7, 20.

See Korres (2008) 73–74; For the location of *barathron*, see Lalonde (2006b) 114–116; Korres 2010d, 70, no. 48.

Thompson and Scranton agreed with Judeich's restoration and placed the join a few meters northwest of the last surviving northward section of the *diateichisma*. They also conjectured that the ancient remains of the join had been destroyed, since they were founded on the rock that was later removed during modern quarrying, see Thompson/Scranton (1943) 306. The position where Travlos (1988) placed this join on his map is a little further south, closer to the Observatory building and almost as a continuation of the line of the Themistoklean wall.

143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158
 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174
 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190
 191 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25
 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48
 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71
 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94
 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112
 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128
 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144
 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160
 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176
 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192
 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208
 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17
 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27

Parts of the Themistoklean wall were still visible at the time: Thompson/Scranton (1943) 330, n. 53.

Gruben (2001) 249. The building programme of the Olympieion languished and was then aborted when the interest of the fledgling Athenian democracy turned to the construction of a new temple of Athena on the sacred rock of the Acropolis ('Parthenon I'), see Korres (1996) 72. This huge monument was completed finally after 650 years by the Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 125–130) on the same plan, but using Pentelic marble, becoming one of the most impressive monuments of Antiquity.

Before the completion of the Olympieion under Hadrian, the temple had neither precinct nor a terrace, and the land around the temple was irregular, see Travlos (1971) 403.

Rangavis (1850) 117, 120. Rangavis later acknowledged the inclusion of the Olympieion within the *peribolos*, based on ruins identified as part of the Themistoklean wall south and southeast of the temple: Rangavis (1888) 143. Perhaps, however, the ruins which he saw belonged to a Roman building, as Skias would later attest, noting in 1893 that in this area that the 'clear remains of some ruin of

large poros blocks, believed by archaeologists to be the remains of the city wall' belonged to a small Roman temple built with older material in secondary use and later converted into a Christian church, see Skias (1893) 130.

Curtius (1862) 68 ff.

Pervanoglu (1863) 532. Pervanoglu noted also that in the winter of 1862 he saw traces of the wall east of the northeastern corner of the precinct that were reburied soon afterwards. The evidence is unfortunately unusable because Pervanoglu did not indicate the exact point of the discovered remains nor described their form. It should be noted that Judeich wrote in 1931 that Dörpfeld trusted him that he had himself seen the remains mentioned by Pervanoglu, and had ruled out any possibility of them being connected with the wall, see Judeich (1931²) 128, n. 3.

Lolling (1889) 301.

Koumanoudes (1888) 16.

Koumanoudes (1888) 16. Any reservations about using the blocks might easily have been overcome, given that the temple 'was more a monument of the arrogance of the tyrants, rather than being the sacred property of Zeus', see Gruben (2001) 249.

The absence of traces of the Themistoklean wall south of the Olympieion precinct was attributed by Skias to the quality of the building material, the smooth 'mixed stone easily broken up' from the bed of the Ilissos, a stone from which he assumed that 'the older wall of the city was also constructed along the Olympieion', see Skias (1893) 127, n. 1. Skias initially formulated the hypothesis that the Themistoklean *peribolos* ran parallel with the north bank of another, older bed of the river that reached immediately below the precinct of the Peisistratid Olympieion. Later, Hadrian, in order to extend the area of the temple, expanded the precinct 'and destroyed part of

the wall along this bed, of which we hope traces remain to be discovered in future excavations of the Olympieion', see Skias (1894) 289. However, studies from 1961 to 1962 by Threpsiades and Travlos in the same area would demonstrate, following the excavation and removal of huge amounts of soil from modern embankments that stood in places near the Ilissos up to 5 m., that there was no earlier bed. Another reason for the absence of traces of the Themistoklean wall is the extensive reuse of building materials of older structures in the area south of the Olympieion in order to construct the Valerian wall. The incorporation of the precinct of the temple into the Valerian wall is also the reason for the good state of preservation of the section of the southeastern corner of the Olympieion precinct, almost to its original height.

Judeich (1931²) 128.

Judeich (1931²) 123.

Vanderpool (1960) 267; Travlos (1971) 402.

Travlos (1960) 48, 53.

Travlos (1960) 48; see also Vanderpool (1957) 281.

The ancient road from the city to Piraeus coincides with part of western section of today's Piraios street, see Korres (2008) 74.

Pittakis (1835) 92. On Pittakis' lemmata in *Ephimeris Archaialogiki* concerning the funerary monuments found close to the Piraic gate, see ARMA 2010, 293–295.

For Pittakis' publication in *Ephimeris Archaialogiki* 1860, p. 2102, lemma 4149, see ARMA 2010, 428, lemma 2741.

For Pittakis' publication in *Ephimeris Archaialogiki* 1860, pp. 2091–2092, lemmata 4109–4110, see ARMA 2010, 274, lemmata 1894, 1898.

Judeich (1905) 130; Judeich (1931²) 139–140.

Noack (1907) 501–508.

Threpsiades (1953) 63.

Threpsiades (1953) 65.

The remains in the road before 18 Erysichthonos street, which in 1953 Threpsiades perceived as the southern part of a gate tower (TH113), were finally shown to be part of the outer (western) face of the Themistoklean wall, as evidenced by the excavations of 1985 at the junction of 54 Irakleidon and Erysichthonos (TH114). Noack's tower (TH114) in fact does not belong to the Themistoklean fortification but was part of a later tower, probably of the Justinianic period.

Travlos (1971) 159.

Legrand (1897) 102–103.

For Pittakis' publication in *Ephimeris ton Philomathon*, see *ARMA* 1993, 66, lemma 70.

Pittakis (1835) 503–504; *ARMA* 1998, 125–126, lemmata 611–622. See also *ARMA* 2010, 237–241.

Ross (1846) 61, lemma 50; 85, lemma 131; 94 lemmata 159, 160; 70, lemma 78; 77 lemma 105. See *ARMA* 1993, 21–22, lemmata 52–57. For the location of the Domnados house, see 'Map of the old city', Biris (1966) 44–45, no. 334. The National Bank was initially installed here, which then in 1855 expanded into the adjacent building, the 'Hotel of England' of François Feraldi; later the two buildings were merged, see Biris (1966) 49. The discovery of graves in other houses on Aioulou street was sufficient proof that the area was situated outside the ancient walls, see Burnouf (1877) 128.

For Pittakis' publication in *Ephimeris Archaïologiki* 1857, p. 1640, lemma 3193, see *ARMA* 2010, 242, lemma 1684.

For the Municipal Theatre of Athens and its demolition in 1940, see Biris (1966) 204–205, 331–334.

Parnassos I (1877) 475.

This was one of the first houses built outside the old core of the city, see Biris (1966) 31, and 44–45, lemma 332, 'Map of the old city'.

Kyparissis (1927–1928b) 51, fig. 10.

Judeich (1931²) 143.

Judeich (1931²) 130.

Third Archaeological Region of Athens (1963) 33–36.

Alexandri (1973–1974a) 115.

Zambon (2014) 103.

I owe this information about Fauvel's naming of the 'gate of Phaliron' to Alessia Zambon, who has studied the relevant archival material. A sketch of the city of Athens is preserved among Fauvel's papers, which was sent to him by Foucherot at some point between 1786 and 1788. He reproduced the southern part of the Haseki wall in this sketch and indicated the name 'gate of Phaleron' through which Phalirou street led.

Curtius (1862) 67. Three hundred steps is about 210–225 m.

Pervanoglu thought that the remains he had investigated on Phalirou street belonged to the monument of the Amazon Antiope, mentioned by Pausanias, see Pervanoglu (1867) 337–338. See also Curtius (1862) 67; Judeich (1931²) 133, n. 1. Dodwell (1819) 392 had previously mentioned the same monument, see p. 91.

Pervanoglu (1867) 339. Perhaps Pervanoglu refers here to the first tower east of the position given for the Itonian gates on Curtius' map (Fig. 22).

See Diary P. Efstratiades, 156, no. 1193, 25 October 1871 and 164, no. 1245, 3 February 1872.

See Diary P. Efstratiades, 174, no. 4109, March 31 1872 and 184, no. 1387, 25 January 1873.

Dyer (1873) 105.

Judeich (1905) 117.

Weller (1913) 65.

Judeich (1931²) 142.

Only buildings of the 3rd century B.C. were revealed, see I. Threpsiades (1953) 61, fig. 4; Threpsiades (1971) 15–16.

‘Not only must walls be put around a city, but they must also be maintained, so that they may be suitable both as an adornment of the city and in respect to military requirements’.

Mud-brick walls above a stone base are discussed by Martin (1956) 197; Orlandos (1968) 124, n. 3; see also Winter (1971) 69–73, and Garlan (1974) 13. For materials used in the core, see Lawrence (1979) 214; for walls built entirely of stone, see Winter (1971) 77–80; for those divided by cross-walls, see Lawrence (1979) 215–216.

For the defensive importance of the *proteichisma*, and its function as a hindrance to the invader, see Lawrence (1979) 284. For the technical characteristics of the *proteichisma*, see 189–192.

According to Philo of Byzantium, fortification engineering theory in the Hellenistic period prescribed that the ideal fortification should have at least three moats with a desired width of 70 cubits (32.36 m.), see Philo of Byzantium, *Compendium of Mechanics*, book V, or *Poliorketica* 84.43–44, 85.3–6. Philo’s assertion appears excessive when compared with the archaeological data; even the large moat B from the Euryalos fort at Syracuse did not exceed 22 m., see Garlan (1974) 365, 72b.

For details of the moat, see pp. 192–196.

Pl. *Lysis* 203a: ἔπορευόμην μὲν ἐξ Ἀκαδημείας εὐθὺ Λυκείου τὴν ἑξω τεῖχος ὑπ' αὐτὸ τὸ τεῖχος.

Excavations ahead of construction for the Museum of Modern Art in the open area of Rigillis park unearthed in 1996 an ancient gymnasium, see Lyngouri-Tolia (1996). Today the whole area is an archaeological site open the public.

For the use of structural elements in dating walls of the Archaic period, and particularly masonry style, see Frederiksen (2011) 63–69. Frederiksen examines the existing confusion caused by dating on the basis of masonry styles, and stresses the need for an extended survey of polygonal walls across the ancient world, see Frederiksen (2011) 65.

Lyngouri-Tolia (1992) 28–29.

Garlan (1974) 13.

According to Maier, 'neither of the two stone-working techniques, of mud-brick walls or the type with two sides, plays an important role in the history of the development of the fortifications, since both can be found from the Archaic to the late Hellenistic period', see Maier (1961) 105.

Winter (1971) 87–91. The irregular trapezoidal style was created at a time when coursed masonry was prevalent, and came out of the need to create aligned upper surfaces of the polygonal or trapezoidal blocks to receive bricks, and also to adapt to the differences of the ground level, see Winter (1971) 84.

Lawrence (1979) 235. On the chronology of Greek polygonal masonry in city walls, see Winter (1971) 95–100. For the differences in the manner of production of polygonal blocks compared to the orthogonal, see Hansen (1974) 171. For masonry as a matter of local tradition and for the interpretation of the transition from polygonal to isodomic masonry based on financial criteria, see Martin

(1956) 199–201.

The difficulties of classifying masonry styles by the shape of the blocks and the treatment of their faces are discussed in Lawrence (1979) 235–245. For the ‘Dema’ wall and the dating by masonry styles compared to pottery evidence, see Munn (1993) 42

See Winter (1971) 82–83, where the author criticised Scranton’s acknowledged possibility that an older style survived alongside the ‘progressive’ style of the next generation for a period of about fifty years, see Scranton (1941) 12.

Rousopoulos (1873).

Philios (1903) 45, n. 2. There were other archaeologists, such as G. Oikonomou, who pointed out early on the problem with the idea that ‘Archaic works built into the Themistoklean wall happened to be used in a later incorporation into newer walls after the probable collapse of part of the Themistoklean wall’, see Oikonomos (1920–1921) 56, n. 1. Of course, dating a part of the fortification to the Themistoklean period was not suggested if the immured antiquities were later than that construction period. In Kastriotis’ publication of a group of sculptures, which were transferred to the Archaeological Museum between 1923–1925 following their removal from the basement walls of a house on Erysichthonos street in Theseio, he stated the following: ‘The marble heads published below, of Hellenistic and Roman date, were found built along with many other pieces of funerary stelai, within the circuit wall of the city. These sculptures do not have a certain connection with Thucydides’ statement (I 93) that sculptures from ancient monuments and funerary stelai were built into Themistokles’ quickly erected wall, but probably are derived from a later repair of the city wall, perhaps after the Sullan disaster’, see Kastriotis (1924–1925) 20.

The Romans and Byzantines used a great deal of lime mortar, as they had devised an economical and sturdy

type of construction for the outer faces of the wall that protected the core, see Winter (1971) 93–94. Lime mortar was used in Greece as a binding material for the strengthening of fortifications from the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 1st centuries B.C., see Orlandos (1966) 10, n.2. For the dating of mortared structures to periods after the Hellenistic, see Gregory (1995) 111.

In contrast to the walls of Athens, those of Piraeus were built entirely of stone (Thuc. 1.93.5): ἐντὸς δὲ οὔτε χάλιξ οὔτε πηλὸς ἦν, ἀλλὰ ξυνωκοδομημένοι μεγάλοι λίθοι καὶ ἐντομῇ ἐγγώνιοι, σιδήρῳ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ἔξωθεν καὶ μολύβδῳ δεδεμένοι ('inside there was neither rubble nor clay, but large stone blocks were cut and fitted together, bound to one another on the outside with iron clamps and lead'). Themistokles believed that walls of great size and thickness did not require as many guards and that their deterrent function was adequately served by their massive size; he designed the walls of the Piraeus in 492 B.C. accordingly, when he was eponymous archon, see Thuc. 1.93.5–8. Moreover, the thickness of the walls of the Piraeus was designed to be such that 'there was room for two wagons with their stones to pass each other' (δύο γὰρ ἅμαξαι ἐναντία ἀλλήλαις τοὺς λίθους ἐπῆγον, Thuc. 1.93.5). Themistokles' strategy against the Persian threat consisted of the construction both of a powerful fleet and of the fortification of the Piraeus, see Thuc. 1.74.4 and 1.93.7. For the solid stone core of the Piraeus walls, see Conwell (1992) 372–373.

Only the section of the wall at 37 Pouloupoulou street (TH120) has been dated by excavation to the Themistoklean period; the other two (TH9 and TH102) are attributed to the same period mostly because of the presence of building material in secondary use in the foundation course.

For deviations in the thickness of the walls, see Lawrence (1979) 344–345.

Winter (1971) 71. For the height of the stone base of the mud-brick walls, see Lawrence (1979) 206.

The measurements given in the excavation reports of the *Archaïologikon Deltion* for the height of the surviving stone base often refer to the total number of courses comprising the stone structure and not to each building phase separately, thus one notices that preserved heights given for a stone base incorporating a Themistoklean construction range from 0.80 m. (TH3), 1.50–1.60 m. (TH99), 2m. (TH18), and reach 2.75 m. (TH94); other stone bases comprising the so-called Kononian construction have a documented original height of 1 m. (TH10), three courses (TH63), 5 courses or 2.75 m. (TH87), 5 courses (TH85), and a height of 2 m. (TH88); the Hellenistic walls of the type with two faces have a stone base that reaches up to 2.60 m. (TH103).

The Archaic stele that Philios associated with the Themistoklean wall southwest of the hill of Agios Athanasios Kourkouris in Theseio (TH123) had its two lower corners cut off as well as parts of its top, see Philios (1903) 45.

see, for example, Alexandri (1967g) 76–77: the masonry described in the excavation report for the plot at 20 Erechtheiou street (TH94) clearly belongs to the post-Themistoklean construction phases. see Fig. 42.

Two Themistoklean construction phases have been documented at the Sacred Gate, see Kuhn (1995) 650–653, 659.

The reason that a high superstructure of mud-bricks was adopted as the most appropriate form of masonry is related to their low production costs and their ability to be rapidly rebuilt in an emergency. Ancient writers like Pausanias (8.8.8) and Apollodoros (*Poliorkitika* 157.7–158.3) attest to the value of brick superstructures as being resilient to shock from the battering ram compared with stone constructions, because of the extent of the breach that these machines caused to bricks. With entirely stone constructions the impact is transmitted from block to block causing more extensive and less-easily repairable damage. The rival merits of brick and stone are discussed

in Orlandos (1966) 52–53; Garlan (1974) 13, 199, and Lawrence (1979) 212–213. For the process of laying the bricks on a stone socle, see Lawrence (1979) 211.

Stroszeck (2017) 71.

Gruben (1964) 388–389.

Gruben (1964) 417.

Lawrence (1983) 303.

Winter (1971) 162.

For the early use of moats in fortifications, see Winter (1963) 379–380, n. 68. According to Garlan (1974, 150), the original purpose of opening a moat was to manufacture bricks for the superstructure of the wall. For a possible reference to such a case at Megara, see Thuc. 4.67.1: ‘they took up position in a trench not far off, from which bricks were made for the walls’ (ἐν ὀρύγματι ἐκαθέζοντο, ὅθεν ἐπλίνθευον τὰ τεῖχη καὶ ἀπέϊχεν οὐ πολύ).

Gruben (1964) 414; Gruben (1969) 34.

Spathari (1980) 36.

See Lawrence (1979) 279.

Gruben (1969) 35.

Spathari (1980) 34–35.

This excavation was extensively discussed in the correspondence between John Travlos and Dimitrios Schilardi from April 1968, when Travlos was in Princeton. Schilardi, then a student, informed Travlos about the excavations in the road at Dipylou street. He states *inter alia* that the investigation of a tower at the intersection of Dipylou and Leokoriou streets was not finished: ‘A gate should be sought to the west, perhaps though also to the east (towards the southwest corner of the intersection of the above streets)’, see Travlos Archive, Athens folder B-148, 9, letter of D. Schilardi to J. Travlos, 01.04.1968, p. 4.

In a subsequent letter, Schilardi included two sketches, a view and a plan, and details of a stone which bore *anathyrosis*. The yellowish poros in secondary use in the foundation course led Schilardi to date the wall to the Themistoklean phase, see letter of D. Schilardi to J. Travlos, 29.4.1968, p. 2. See Theodoraki (2011) 109–110.

Knigge (1991) 36, 54, 60, 76; Stroszeck (2017) 72, 81.

Ohly (1965) 368.

Noack (1907) 130.

Gruben (1969) 34.

Knigge (1974) 188; Knigge (1991) 76.

Noack (1907) 130.

A basic classification of the treatment of the faces of blocks is presented by Scranton (1941) 21–22; for the hammer and broached faces, see Orlandos (1968) 162.

Theodoraki (2011) 117, fig. 28.

He first removed a large part of the wall that was in danger, both from the side facing the city and that facing the outside. The wall was then rebuilt, after the Themistoklean foundations had been secured using supports fitted into its core, see Ohly (1965) 367–368.

Ohly (1965) 368.

Knigge (1974) 188.

Gruben (1969) 35.

SEG 21.651. Gruben (1964, 414) connected the inscription with the existence of the moat. The word τέλμα means *mud used as mortar, space pointed with mortar* (between the courses of masonry), *standing water, pond, marsh*. For the τέλμα of Athens and its position close to the so-called Diocharēs gates, see IG II² 2495: (Il. 6–8): Ἀθηνᾶς τέλμα πρὸς ταῖς [πύλαις] ταῖς παρὰ τὸ Διοχάρου[ς ...5..]

βαλανέον, see Judeich (1931²) 143, n. 1 and Threpsiades (1960) 26–27.

Gruben (1964) 414; Threpsiades (1960) 26.

Gruben (1969) 35.

von Alten (1878) 29–30.

Dörpfeld (1892) 450.

Phase I: Themistoklean; Phase II: Kononian; Phase III: Lykourgan; Phase IV: Roman, see Noack (1907) 499.

This resulted from study of the excavation finds of the wall of 17 Erysichthonos street (TH115) based on the fact that the polygonal wall protruded by 0.10 m. from the underlying row of stones, showing it had two phases, and secondly that the external face of the foundation was similar to that of the walls of Phase II of the Eridanos, i.e., Kononian, see Noack (1907) 505.

Noack (1907) 131.

Judeich (1931²) 133.

Maier (1959) 15–16. Maier identified the following building phases: two Themistoklean (Themistoklean 1: wall with faces of poros or rough blocks and a brick superstructure; Themistoklean 2: wall with double faces, thickness 2.50 m. of polygonal Acropolis limestone blocks and a brick superstructure), one Kononian (wall with faces, thickness 2.40–2.60 m., of polygonal limestone blocks, decorated with grooves from a chisel and with a brick superstructure), and a fourth that is documented at the Dipylon (core of compact stone with layers of conglomerate and faces of poros blocks).

Ohly (1965) 360–376. On the basis of this correspondence, it is probable that the findings originally dated to the Themistoklean phase, because of its specific characteristics, should be considered Kononian, see Catalogue of Sites, TH105 and TH123.

See Orlandos (1968) 162. Scranton had already moved curtain 1b of the Kerameikos (with broached work for the outer surfaces of the blocks) from the Kononian period to the middle of the 4th century B.C., see Scranton (1941) 49–50.

It is likely that the renovation of the fortification was limited to repair of the walls that had been previously destroyed, i.e., the Long Walls and the walls of the Piraeus. We have seen that there is very full documentation for the repair of these fortifications both in ancient texts and inscriptions (see pp. 29–30).

Philippaki (1966b) 55.

For a comprehensive discussion of the construction specifications of IG II² 463, see Maier (1959) 48–67, no. 11 (the lines of this inscription cited in the following text are taken from his edition).

Maier (1959) no. 11.

The λιθολόγημα is defined by LSJ⁹ as *foundation of unworked stone*.

Maier (1959) no. 11.

Maier (1959) no. 11. The size and amount of blocks to be transported was limited by the weight the cart could bear, see Lawrence (1979) 233.

Noack noted that the all-stone technique in the Athenian wall is first mentioned in the building inscriptions of the second half of the 4th century B.C., see Noack (1907) 493.

Maier (1959) no. 11.

Maier (1959) no. 11.

In general, the combination of an all-stone construction and a large height of the walls follows the progress of battering technology. However, a wall with a large thickness is not necessarily later; there were walls of large

thickness built in earlier periods and some with a lesser thickness in later times, as in ancient Smyrna (4.60 m., late 7th century B.C.) and in Hellenistic Dimitrias (2 m.) respectively, see Winter (1971) 134, n. 33.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA Φ1/10A/Φ2/130/12-10-1957.

Thucydides mentions the thickness of the Piraeus wall as being the width of two wagons (1.93.5); on the bibliography concerning the interpretation of this passage of Thucydides, see Conwell (1992) 400, n. 12. The ideal thickness for walls, according to Philo of Byzantium, was 10 cubits or 4.60 m., see *Mechanike Syntaxis*, book V or *Poliorketika* 80.20–21. According to Vitruvius, it should 'be such that two armed men, moving in opposite directions, can pass unimpeded one beside the other' (1.5.3). The typical thickness of fortification walls was 2.70–3.30 m., occasionally reaching 5 m.; see Orlandos (1968) 124. The surviving parts of the Long Walls that have been dated to around 330 B.C. reach a thickness of 4.60 m., see Conwell (1992) 379.

Winter (1971) 149.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA Φ1/10A/Φ2/130/12-10-57. See Travlos (1960) 75, n. 1.

Gruben (1964) 389.

Gruben (1964) 389; *Kerameikos* XXII, 68.

Vitruvius 2.8.7. According to Tomlinson, the original ἐμπλεκτον in Hellenistic masonry applied to the dry interweaving of headers and stretchers, see Tomlinson (1961) 133–140. This interpretation is today followed by the majority of researchers, see Winter (1971) 80 n. 33, 135; Lawrence (1979) 214–215.

The application of stepped recesses is an old practice occurring even before 800 B.C., as can be seen in the brick wall of ancient Smyrna, see Lawrence (1979) 206–207.

For the difficulties of interpreting the θυρίδων

καταράκτων (*IG II²* 463.76, 89), see Lawrence (1979) 410–418. For a proposed restoration in the case of the Athenian fortification, see Ober (1987) 603–604, fig. 31.

For the advantages of the new superstructure, see Winter (1959) 187–188. For the stone catapults and the culmination of siege craft in the age of Macedon, see Steinhauer (2001) 219–226.

Caskey (1910); Maier (1959) 61.

Holland (1950) 355.

Winter (1959) 182, fig. 3. For the roofing, see Garlan (1974) 263–267; Lawrence (1979) 368–369.

For the connection of the towers to the wall, and for examples of analogous bonding in other Greek fortifications, see Lawrence (1979) 221, 380. For semi-circular towers, especially at turning points of the walls, see Lawrence (1979) 379.

Comparing the dimensions of towers from other Attic fortifications of the 4th century B.C., the towers of the Long Walls of the 4th century B.C. project 4.90 to 5.98 m. in front of the wall and have a length from 5–5.50 up to 8.40 m., see Conwell (1992) 385. Dimensions of towers in other fortifications (width / length): Mantinea: 4.50–5 / 6.50–6.80 m. (Fougères [1898] 146); Plataia: 5 / 6.70 m. (Washington [1890] 456); Megara: 4.50 / 6.93 m. (Zoridis [1985] 233).

Lawrence (1979) 231.

Martin (1967) 138.

Gruben (1964) 389; *Kerameikos* XXII.

On the materials used in the roof of towers, see Lawrence (1979) 230–231.

The identification of the wall at excavation site TH89, on Tsami Karatasou street, with the south part of a tower,

which falls within the limits of excavation site TH88, was combined with the discovery in this latter excavation of an internal widening, synchronous with the main body of the wall, which was identified as steps leading up to the battlements of the wall or to a tower; see Lyngouri-Tolia (1990b) 40; Lyngouri-Tolia (1992) 28.

Theocharaki 2011) 144.

If Maier's restoration of *IG II²* 463.48–49 is correct, new towers were added at the end of the 4th century B.C.: Ἐὰν δὲ πλεόνων προσδεῖ[ται πύργων? τὸ τεῖχος, οἰκοδομήσει] ('[He will build] additional [towers for the wall] if there is such a need').

Lawrence (1979) 205.

Knigge (1991) 76.

Parlama (1990) 34.

Alexandri (1972b) 47.

Alexandri (1968d) 63.

Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou (1978b) 18.

Tsirigoti-Drakotou (2000) 89.

Knigge (1974) 188.

Tsirigoti-Drakotou (2000) 90.

Gebauer (1940) 314.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 303. This section summarizes some of the conclusions of the American excavations, see Thompson/Scranton (1943) 269–383. On the Macedonian fortress, see Carando/Marchiandi (2011).

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 333–337.

Thompson (1982) 146, n. 44; Conwell (2008) 178–182.

The largest sections of the *diateichisma* were revealed at the northwest side of the hill of the Nymphs (40 m.), at the southwest corner and the eastern end of the East Stoa on the Pnyx, at the top of the hill of the Muses (40 m.), and south of tower C4 (20 m.). The most characteristic section in terms of form is located at the eastern end of the East Stoa on the Pnyx.

Philo of Byzantium thought the narrowest possible thickness for Hellenistic walls was 1.25 m., when the *parodos* was supported by scaffolding. This structure was adopted ἐν ἀρμόζουσι τόποις, where the ground configuration made the wall impregnable by siege engines, see Philo of Byzantium, *Mechanike Syntaxis*, book V, or *Poliorketika* 80.34.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 302.

For partitioning the body of the wall into smaller sections, see Orlandos (1968) 125; Winter (1971) 135. This type of structure was established in the Hellenistic period, although it is documented much earlier, for example in the 9th century B.C. fortifications at Smyrna, and in 630 B.C. in the Potters' Quarter at Corinth, see Winter (1971) 135–137, n. 36.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 320. Remains of sun-dried bricks were found in situ, Thompson/Scranton (1943) 328.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 217.

Gruben (1970) 127. Gruben relied on the fact that preserved remains of parapets with crenellations of the older type were a necessity within the context of a closed courtyard area. This would ensure ease of movement and the final entrapment of the enemy, something which, according to Gruben, would not be possible through the openings of the new parapet type. Furthermore, the configuration of the gate across the Koile road with a second door (hence the connection with the two gates of the Dipylon) dates not from the period of IG II² 463, but later, in the time of the White Poros Wall (see p. 204).

Therefore, this Dipylon relates to a subsequent building phase and is disassociated from IG II² 463, see Marchiandi (2011b) 357.

See Thompson/Scranton (1943) 303–330 (*diateichisma*), 331 (Macedonian fort).

These codes refer to the series of towers depicted in Thompson/Scranton (1943) pls. XIV–XVI.

See Thompson/Scranton (1943) 305, 307–310 (for proposed towers), 311 (C1), 317–320 (C3), 324 (C4), 327–328 (C5), 329 (C6), 330, n. 53 (C7), 331 (D1, D2, T1). The development of the towers is indicated on plan XVI of the same article.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 309 n. 47 and 375, n. 105. Ambiguous cuttings in the rock observed between the towers of the *diateichisma* on the hill of the Muses were not considered sufficient evidence to estimate a certain length of between 35 and 40 m.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 342.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 309 (the central area of the Pnyx), 330 (hill of the Muses, south of tower C6).

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 317.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 340–362, pls. XIV–XVI. New aspects in the study of this wall are explored by Karlsson (1996) and Conwell (1996).

Conwell (1996) 96.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 358–362.

Thompson (1982) 146.

Conwell (1996) 96–97, 101; Conwell (2008) 193–194.

Conwell (1996) 98–99.

Karlsson (1996) 88, pl. 61b.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 341.

Lawrence (1979) 364.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 341–342; Karlsson (1996) 90–92; Conwell (1996) 96.

This double line of defence probably formed a strong garrison-fort along the southern brow of the hill, see Thompson/Scranton (1943) 348. The expansion of the outer fortifications with successive defensive lines is documented in 3rd century B.C. Sicily; it ceased, however, to be employed in the following two centuries, when the focus shifted more towards providing the appropriate defensive weapons to combat siege engines, see Winter (1971) 285–286.

Conwell (1996) 94–95.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 343–345.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 343–344.

For modifications to the design of the towers during the 4th century B.C., see Marsden (1969) 126–139; Garlan (1974) 259–262. For the keeping of siege engines in towers, see Winter (1971) 167–169; Lawrence (1979) 385–386.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 352; Lawrence (1979) 326.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 352–356.

Winter (1971) 305.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 346 (the central area of the Pnyx), 348 (the hill of the Muses, next to tower W7).

Gruben (1964) 419.

See Culley (1975) 218–219. Baldassarri (1998) 242–246 dates the inscription to the period before Augustus.

Knigge (1991) 66 (Phase 6 for the Sacred Gate, 1st century

B.C.).

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 362.

Alexandri (1972b) 43. The wall has been dated after 1st c. A.D.

On the repair of buildings after Sulla's attack, and their chronology, see Hoff (1997) 42–43, fig. 1.

Parigi (2016) reevaluates the state of the Athenian fortification walls in the 1st century B.C., giving particular attention to the attacks on the city by Sulla (87/6 B.C.) and Callenus (48 B.C.).

The continuing use of the main cemeteries in the Late Roman period provides evidence that the Athenian walls retained their function as a border of the city until that date, see Parigi (2016) 392–393.

At a damaged part of the fortification line to the southwest of the Pnyx, near tower W5, the Valerian wall was built around 1 m. in front of the line of the White Poros Wall, see Thompson/Scranton (1943) 369–370.

In the excavated site TH73, the Valerian wall was built on the ruins of the half-destroyed Roman stoa, whose western wall had been founded in the fill. The eastern wall of the stoa was used as the internal face of the Valerian wall, and is thought to have been built onto the *proteichisma*, see Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 4N-155, 5 (2 Vourvachi and Syngrou).

Kokkoliou (1997a) n. 10. See Dimitriadou (2012) 262.

Gebauer (1940) 314.

For the date of the Roman Pompeion, see *Kerameikos* X, 112; Stroszeck (2017) 104.

The blocks of the outer face of the Valerian wall were joined with metal clamps without the use of mortar (TH73), see Threpsiades (1971) 17. In other Late Roman

fortifications, such as in Lower Moesia and northern Thrace, besides mortar we see also the widespread use of iron clamps connecting blocks of walls, see Biernacka-Lybanska (1982) 114. Generally, the use of metal clamps was extremely rare in Greek fortifications, see Orlandos (1968) 172, n. 2; Winter (1971) 136; Lawrence (1979) 216. Clamps may have been applied at certain particularly vulnerable points along the circuit, such as at the Sacred Gate (Themistoklean phase), see Noack (1907) 153, 155 and Kuhn (1995) 655, and at the Dipylon (Kononian phase), see Gruben (1964) 403.

For the possible differentiation of contractors, see Johnson (1983) 36.

Scranton stressed that, according to information from Travlos, the masonry of the wall at the Hotel Grande Bretagne (V7) was excellent and did not show the usual characteristics of the Roman fortification as applied over the rest of Athens, i.e. extensive use of earlier and fragmentary materials bonded with mortar. For these reasons, he had in fact perceived this wall as Themistoklean, see Scranton (1938) 536.

Pernice (1892) 276.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 366–369, figs. 62–63, pl. XVI.

Kyriakou (2001–2004b) 280.

Freytag-Löringhoff (1974) 198.

For the dating of the wall, see pp. 125–126.

Agora XXIV, 127.

Agora XXIV, 128–130.

Agora XXIV, 136.

The Roman building was discovered on Adrianou street between numbers 72 and 86 (PH10, PH11, PH12, PH13, PH14, PH16). It seems that it had not suffered significant

damage during the Herulian raid in 267 B.C., see Kokkou (1970) 161. The preserved buildings include the Pantheon, the Tower of the Winds (The Horologion of Andronikos Kyrristos), part of the Agora of Augustus, and the so-called Agoranomeion, see Hattersley-Smith (1996) 199.

Korres (1980) 18–19.

Setton (1955) 233.

Tsoniotis (2008b) 68.

Tsoniotis (2016) 716.

Agora XXIV, 127.

Tsoniotis (2008b) 58.

Agora XXIV, 126–127.

Camp (1990) 131, fig. 81.

Agora XXIV, 138; Surlas (2013) 156.

Tsoniotis (2008) 59, figs. 5–6.

Agora XXIV, 14.

Thompson (1959a) 65–66; Travlos (1971) 161–162; Gregory (1982) 50; *Agora XXIV*, 58.

Brückner (1931) 10–11. Part of the foundations were removed during the excavation, but some remains are in situ. My warm thanks to Jutta Stroszcek for showing me this surviving section of the foundations.

Kerameikos X, 188–189. See the plans of the gate in figs. 190–191 (pp. 177–178) and 204 (p. 189).

Rügler (1990) 284–286.

See Adam (1994) 143.

The walls of Constantinople and Thessaloniki belong to the fortification programme of Theodosius II. For the

dating of the Early Christian walls of Thessaloniki to the mid-5th century A.D., see Spieser (1984) 66.

For the building work of Herculus in Athens, see *Agora* XXIV, 63–68.

According to the inscription *IG VII 93*, the Megarians thanked the prefect Herculus for restoring the walls of their city.

Isthmia V, 143–144.

The fortifications of the Early Christian period preserved today in Greece are strong constructions, and it is thought that some characteristic traces of the masonry of this period would have been revealed also in Athens, if such a project had actually been executed, see Bouras (1981) 614.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 373–376.

Thompson (1936) 195; Thompson/Scranton (1943) 375. The only part of the fortifications of the western hills without traces of work with mortar is the Macedonian fort, see Thompson/Scranton (1943) 375.

The reinforcement of the facade of the Library of Hadrian was undertaken during repair of the west colonnade by Herculus (early 5th century A.D.), see Knithakis/Tigginaga (1986) 11. The excavation report notes analogous and common features with other Justinianic fortifications and additions in Athens and Isthmia.

Sotiriou (1927) 27–31; Sourlas (2013) 160–162.

Bouras (2017) 28.

In the area of the Agora, especially between the gate of the Hypapanti Church and the Christ Church gate, undated repairs have been found using small stones and bricks bonded with mortar in the upper parts of the wall; such repairs of the wall in the medieval period have also been found at the Eleusinion, see *Agora* XXIV, 129.

For the problem of the reinforcement of the Post-Herulian wall with towers, see Bouras 2017, 17.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) pl. XIV. Of these 15 towers, 5 were new constructions on the ridge between the hills of the Nymphs and the Pnyx (M1, M2, M3, M4, M5). Further south, three towers were reconstructed on the hill of the Muses on the ruins of older towers (C4, C5, C6). The large tower C4, located at a corner of a sharp bend in the wall to the west, appears to have been repaired without changing its original shape. The circular tower C5 was redesigned as a square one on the foundations of its predecessor. The base of the square tower C6 was used as a foundation upon which the new Byzantine tower was built. It has further been reported that new towers (M6, M7, M8, M9) were inserted between the older and restored towers in this period (C3, C4, C5, C6, C7), a practice noted by Procopius as relating to Justinianic fortifications (see p. 50). Another three towers have been detected, one on the east and two to the west of the hill of the Muses, see Thompson/Scranton (1943) 373–376.

Of the 12 towers, three were founded in contact with the outer faces of the Themistoklean wall (TH63, TH114, TH118), one upon the ruins of the *proteichisma* (TH76), three into the area of the moat and outside the older *proteichisma* that was converted into a stretch of the Valerian wall (TH3.1, TH4, TH96), and five towers are in contact with the outer faces of the Valerian peribolos south of the Olympieion (V16 [4], V17).

The construction of towers independent from the wall indicates that they may have been added later to their adjoining fortification. Such a connection of towers and wall has been observed in many other Early Christian fortifications, as for example in Constantinople, and has been used as a criterion for differentiating between two building phases, the first of the walls and the second of the structure of the independent towers. At Hexamilia, some towers were connected to the wall and others not, and this relative independence is interpreted in this case

as a simple lack of interest on the part of builders to connect them, see *Isthmia* V 138.

For the lack of central strategic planning and the local nature of the management of Justinian fortifications, see Wozniak (1982) 200–205.

For the tower-forts in the city of Toperus in Rhodope, see Procopius, *Buildings* 4.11.16: τῶν δὲ πύργων ἕκαστον φρούριον ἐρυμνὸν ἐσκεύασατο εἶναι ('he equipped each of the towers to be a strong fort').

Diehl (1896) 156–158 discussed these independent Byzantine towers, named πυργοκάστελλον by Procopius (*Buildings* 2.5.8) and parallels them to a sort of keep donjon.

The square form was clearly preferred in the construction of towers in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D., and is found at Hexamilia, Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Resafa (Sergioupolis), and Nikopolis, see Gregory (1993) 132.

The use of building materials derived from the demolition of ancient temples is included in the Theodosian code for the construction of walls and aqueducts, see *Codex Theodosianus* 15, 1, 36, of A.D. 397. The Early Christian wall of Nikopolis was built of materials from the Roman wall, as well as buildings of the Roman city, see Chrysostomou/Kephallonitou (2001) 18. The same happened with the wall at Hexamilia, where spolia was used from the neighbouring temple of Poseidon and from other ancient buildings in the area, see Gregory (1993) 139.

In the excavation reports, the masonry of the so-called Justinianic towers is referred to as *opus incertum*. However, Adam (1994, 127) defines *opus incertum* as a 'type of facing, consisting of irregular small stones sometimes dressed on the exterior face', which 'is actually the outer skin of *opus caementicium*, that is the supporting masonry bonded with mortar'. In the excavation reports there is no description as to the organisation of the interior space of these towers, or as to whether the

mortar construction was commonly applied to the core and facings in a single operation as a uniform mass.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 374.

The walls of Constantinople reached 11 m., at Resafa 11.70 m., at Amida 8–12 m. For other surviving heights of walls from the same period, see Gregory (1993) 135.

Observations on masonry tendencies, such as the proportion of stones to mortar, the compactness of construction and the preference to coursed or irregular rubble work, might be indicative of earlier or later periods in wall and tower building. See the extended discussion on the antecedents of the building techniques of early Byzantine architecture in Ward-Perkins (1958) 77–95.

Knigge (1991) 67; for the dating of the marble arch to the beginning of the 4th century A.D. see Stoszeck (2017) 84, fig. 13.13.

Rügler (1990) 287.

Thompson/Scranton (1943) 374.

Mango (1980) 60–65; Lavvas (1980) 405.

Ward-Perkins (1958) 77; Bouras (1994) 109.

There are at least three types of connection between curtain and towers in Late Roman fortifications: firstly, an entrance to the tower from the *parodos* of the wall; second, access to the walls only by means of towers; and thirdly, towers and curtain walls as independent structural units, see Gregory (1995) 143. The Athenian towers under discussion fall into the latter variant, and radical changes in structure would not be expected in the Early Byzantine period. For the difficulty of distinguishing the fortifications of the Late Roman and the Early Christian periods in Syria and Palestine, see Meyers (1982) 117–119. See also *Agora* XXIV, 82.

Thompson (1959a) 66; Travlos (1960) 144–145, pl. VII;

For research problems on Justinianic fortifications, see Wozniak (1982) 200; Gregory (1982) 58; Bouras 2017, 16–17.

Travlos (1988) 34, plan 29.

The phrase ‘Themistoklean course’ (TH) refers to the original Themistoklean fortification line, independent of whichever reconstruction phase; it is therefore a topographical determination. The individual building phases evidenced by the study of the Themistoklean wall were discussed in Chapter 4; references there to the ‘Themistoklean wall’ specifically relate to the Themistoklean building phase of the wall.

The *diateichisma* is considered as one excavation site, which when added to the 181 positions gives a total of 182.

This calculation is the result of measurements taken using the electronic system of geographic information with which the map was created. Other calculations of wall lengths mentioned in this book were made in the same way.

Thuc. 2.13.7: ‘For the Phaleric wall was thirty-five stadia to the circuit wall of the city, and the guarded part of the circuit itself was forty-three stadia (a portion being left unguarded, that between the Long Wall and the Phaleric); and the Long Walls to the Piraeus were forty stadia, of which the outer one was guarded; and the whole circuit of the Piraeus including Mounychia was sixty stadia, half of this being under guard’.

See Weller (1913) 63; Judeich (1931²) 131.

According to Judeich, Thucydides inadvertently wrote τέσσερις καὶ τεσσαράκοντα instead of τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα, see Judeich (1931²) 131–132. See also Scranton (1938) 529; Travlos (1960) 50.

Archaeology has not yet proved exactly where the Phaleric wall intersected with the circuit of the city, with the result that the length of the unguarded section has been variously estimated. The view that the connection of the Phaleric wall with the city circuit should be sought on the southwest side of the Mouseion hill was proposed by Lolling (1889, 301), Judeich (1931², 155), Conwell (2008, 233, fig. 3), and Marchiandi (2011c, 380). According to Lolling, the connection of the Phaleric wall with the Mouseion was evidenced by the ruins themselves, while the next remains to the south were on the hill of Sikelia, which rises southwest of the Mouseion, beyond the Ilissos, see Lolling (1889) 301, n. 2. These remains observed by Lolling cannot, however, be detected today. Part of the hill of Sikelia (a quarry site called Molyva) began to be quarried in the early 20th century (1903), despite strong resistance from the state's special commission on quarries, which was established in accordance with law 2454/1896 for the protection of the ancient hills, see 'Opinion of the commission for quarrying at the Molyva site', in the Historical Archive of the Directorate of the National Archive of Monuments 459, '1904–1905, Correspondence with the Ministry of Finance for the "Molyva" quarries'. The quarrying of the Sikelia hill is discussed in Korres (2008) 74. Much earlier than Lolling, Pittakis had noted that he had seen the remains of the southern arm of the Long Walls, adding that this wall started from the top of the Mouseion hill and descended to the valley, see Pittakis (1835) 25. Perhaps Pittakis' reference in fact concerns the Phaleric wall.

Curtius/Kaupert (1881, Sheet Ia) and Papachatzis (1974, 134, fig. 58) determined the point where the Phaleric wall intersected with the city circuit to the east of the Phaleron road and the gate there, so that the road and the gate were protected by the wall. See also Ficuciello (2008) 99, 100, n. 566. Alternatively, the intersection point of the Phaleric and Themistoklean walls could have been to the west of the ancient Phaleron road (see Travlos [1971] 164,

fig. 213), leaving the road unsecured, an occurrence which is paralleled at the north arm of the Long Walls, where the so-called *hamaxitos* road (Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.10) lay unprotected outside the North Long Wall, see Costaki (2006) 139, 196.

Thompson (1982) 146, n. 44; Conwell (2008) 178–182.

The statue of Theodoros Kolokotronis, general and prominent leader in the Greek War of Independence, was initially set up at the junction of Kolokotroni and Stadiou streets. After WWII, the statue was moved to its present location in front of the Old Parliament building. A photograph exists of the statue proving its original position, see Arseni (2004) 116, fig. 120.

Kyparissis (1924–1925) 69.

Meurs (1617) 4: ‘here you have the ten gates’.

Meurs (1624) 180–184.

Babin (1674) 43–44.

Potter (1706) I, 33 (first edition: 1697–1698). Later, Stuart and Revett, and Fauvel would use Potter as a source book, see Stuart/Revett (1794) iv; Zambon (2014) 103.

Guillet (1675) 352–353.

Stuart/Revett (1794) v. See Hawkins (1817) 312.

Koumanoudes (1884).

Judeich (1931²) 141, n. 1.

Polyaenus, *Strategemata* 3.7.1: ‘he slipped out through a small gate’.

Isaeus 6.20: ‘near the postern gate, where wine is sold’.

Plato *Lysis* 203a: ‘and when I reached the small gate that leads to the spring of Panopeus’.

Judeich (1931²) 142.

Travlos (1971) 159–161. To these 15 gates must be added the two gates Travlos marked at the southwest foot of the hills of the Pnyx and the Muses, and the gate on Evripidou street (see Travlos 1988, 34, fig. 29), which are not included in the Latin numbering.

28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50
 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73
 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96
 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113
 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129
 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145
 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161
 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177
 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193
 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209
 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225
 226 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25
 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48
 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71
 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 1 2 3

Judeich (1931²) 142.

Matthaiou (1983).

For a reconstruction of the road network of the city on the basis of new discoveries and in relation to the earlier proposal of Travlos (Travlos 1971, 167, fig. 217), see Costaki (2006) 690, fig. 89; Costaki (2009) 109, pl. 5.15.

Plut. *Sulla* 14.3: 'having thrown down and levelled [the wall] between the Piraic and the Sacred gate'.

In the inscription *IG* I³ 1096, the initial name of the road ($\eta[\iota\epsilon]\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$) was erased and corrected to Ἐλευσινάδε, probably in the last decade of the 5th century B.C., see *Kerameikos* III, no. 18. See also the related inscriptions *IG* I³ 1095 and *IG* II² 2624. The road which came from Eleusis bore the names Eleusinian (Ἐλευσινάδε) and Sacred Way, see Stroszeck (2003) 76, n. 117; Stroszeck (2017) 80.

For the Sacred gate, see Travlos (1971) 159; Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29, gate III; Knigge (1991) 56–67; Stroszeck (2017) 80–86; *Kerameikos* XIX.

See Stroszeck (2017) 73, 83; *Kerameikos* XIX, 92–93. For the use of posterns during sieges, but also in times of peace,

see Winter (1971) 234–251 and Lawrence (1979) 335–342.

Judeich (1931²) 143; Stroszeck (2017) 83.

Plut. *Pericles* 30.3: ‘and that Anthemokritos be buried with honour at the Thriasiai gates, which are now called the Dipylon’. Anthemokritos was an Athenian herald who was killed by the Megarians on the eve of the Peloponnesian War.

Ar. *Frogs* 1093–1095: ‘and then at the gates the Potters’ Town people hit him on the stomach’ (trans. Sommerstein).

Ar. *Knights* 1247: ‘At the gates, where they sell salt-fish’ (trans. Sommerstein).

For excavations at the Themistoklean and Hellenistic Dipylon, see Gruben (1964). See also Travlos (1971) 159; Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29, gate IV; Knigge (1991) 68–73; Stroszeck (2017) 87–95; *Kerameikos* XXII.

The specific design exploited the fact that an attacker would have the side unprotected by his shield exposed to the tower, see Gruben (1964) 417.

Judeich (1931²) 135; Knigge (1991) 69.

Alexandri (1969d); Travlos (1971) 159; Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29, gate V; Skilardi (1968) 36–39.

For the excavation of the ancient road at 8 Dipylou street, see Alexandri (1969b) 41. For further sections of this road to the Agora, see Vanderpool (1959) 297; Travlos (1960) 52, n. 3; Costaki (2006) 111–112.

For the reconstruction of this road network, see Travlos (1960) 167, fig. 217; Ficuciello (2008) pl. II, no. 65; Costaki (2009) 109, pl. 5.15.

See Travlos Archive, Athens Folder B-148, 9, letter of D. Skilardi to J. Travlos, 1-4-1968, p. 4.

The excavation is not yet published. For a brief reference

to the preliminary finds, see Banou (2013) 288.

Travlos (1960) 52; Travlos (1971) 159. The name, however, as Matthaiou (1983) has shown, is not given by any ancient source, but was the result of a philological emendation.

See Skilardi (1968) 39–49.

For a catalogue of the inscribed funerary stelai of the Archaic period in the area of the Themistoklean gates of the city, see Jeffery (1962) 116–133. A brief description of the topography of the cemeteries in relation to their position outside the gates of Themistoklean circuit is provided by Kurtz/Boardman (1971, 91–96, map no. 4). A catalogue of the funerary periboloi of the Classical period found around the gates of the Themistoklean wall and along the roads that led from the city to the surrounding demes is provided by Garland (1982) 133–157. On the development of funerary periboloi around the fortifications of the city, see Marchiandi (2011a) 98–105.

Matthaiou (1983) 14–16.

Miller (1972) 86–87.

Plut. *Lives of the Orators*, *Hypereides* 849c: ‘and buried him among his ancestors before the Hippades gates’.

According to Lawrence (1979, 302), the use of the plural may mean that the gate was closed by two door-leaves.

For the connection of the area with the aristocratic past of the Athenian cavalry, see Arrington (2010) 529–532.

Garlan (1969) 157–158.

Alabe (1987) 136–140; Ficuciello (2008) 76, n. 462; Marchiandi (2011c) 454.

Travlos (1960) 53; Travlos (1971) 160, 167, fig. 217; Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29, gate IX. See Marchiandi (2011c) 453–454.

The building programme of the Peisistratid Olympieion

was abandoned at the end of the 6th and early 5th centuries B.C. with the establishment of the new democracy, and was replaced by the construction programme of 'Parthenon I' which was to replace the 'Pre-Parthenon', see Korres (1996) 72, 95.

See Vanderpool (1960) 268, fig. 1; Daux (1960) 631–637, figs. 1–4.

Lawrence (1979) 283.

Plut. *Theseus* 12.3: 'the Hermes [i.e. the herm] to the east of the sanctuary [Delphinion] is called the Hermes at Aigeos's gate'. See Travlos (1960) 53 and pl. III.

Travlos (1971) 160.

Miller (1972) 91.

Traill (1975) 39.

Travlos (1971) 160. For objections to the topographic relationship of the Hippades gates to the deme Ankyle, see Alabe (1987) 137.

In this context, Judeich recognised in Hippades another name for the Diochares gate, which is also connected with the Lyceum, see Judeich (1931²) 143; Travlos (1971) 160.

Philippaki (1966c); Travlos (1971) 160; Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29, gate XI. A recent excavation at the plot at 8 Iosiph ton Rogon street (TH63.1) has revealed a section of the fortification that may be the continuation of the wall that forms the NW-SE opening excavated on plot TH63; see Kokkoliou (2005).

A postern with an oblique opening is documented also at the Epipolai gate at Syracuse, see Winter (1971) 244, fig. 263; Lawrence (1979) 305–307.

Sections of an ancient road on the same orientation were revealed in two plots on Syngrou avenue, at numbers 6 and 10, see Costaki (2006) 124.

Similar cases of plans of gates that were adapted on roads leading obliquely to the wall are noted by Lawrence (1979) 307.

Travlos (1971) 160. Billot instead transferred the gate named Itonian on the axis of the Phaleron road, and called 'Diomeian' the gate on Iosiph ton Rogon, see Billot (1992) 143–145; for the name 'Diomeian', see below p. 263. For the identification of the Itonian gates in a site south of the Olympieion enclosure, see Robertson (2005) 48–50. Ἰτωνία is derived from an epithet of Athena from Iton, a city in Thessaly. For the proposed etymology of the word, see Papachatzis (1974) 231, n. 2; Robertson (2005) 50.

Pl. [Ax.] 364d: 'As we walked quickly on the road next to the wall, we found Axiochus at the Itonian gates, as he lived near the gates next to the stele of the Amazon'.

Plut. *Theseus* 27.4: 'and the stele that stands by the sanctuary of Olympian [Ge] was set up for her [Hippolyta]'.

Paus. 1.2.1: 'On entering the city there is a monument of the Amazon Antiope'. See also Pausanias 1.18.7.

Wycheley notes that the 'Kallirrhoe was by the Ilissos, in the direction of the Itonian Gate and Cynosarges', see *Agora* III, 137. For the proposed location of the Amazon stele, see Travlos (1971) 291, fig. 379. For the ancient sources in relation to the Amazon stele or the Antiope monument, see Marchiandi (2011c) 465.

Judeich (1931²) 141; Marchiandi (2011c) 384.

1. *Agora* XIX, H1 (475–450 B.C.) [Αθ]εναίας [Ἰτ]ονείας. 2. *IG* I³ 383 (429/8 B.C.), ll. 151–152 [Α]θεναίας [Ἰ]τονίας. 3. *SEG* 57.64, side A, column I, l. 12 (403–399 B.C.) [—] [Ἀθηναία Ἰτ]ωνία οἷ[ς]. 4. *IG* II³ 445 (ca. 335 B.C.), ll. 36–37 τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Ἰτωνί[αι].

This correlation was suggested by Gerald Lalonde in a lecture at the Epigraphical Symposium in memory of

David M. Lewis, organized by The Greek Epigraphic Society and the Epigraphic Museum, Athens, 30th May – 1st June 2014, entitled 'Athena Itonia, the Thessalian Cavalry, and Peisistratos'. The bonds between the Peisistratids and the Aleuadae were also maintained later, in their common attempt at Susa to convince Xerxes to move against the Greeks (Hdt. 7.6).

Wheeler (1887); Judeich (1931²) 141, n. 1; Travlos (1971) 332 (fig. 435), 333; Marchiandi/Savelli (2011) 421–423. For the possible location of the sanctuary in the light of new discoveries about the road network, see Costaki (2006) 125. For the proposed location of the sanctuary outside the limits of the city, see Wycherley (1960) 65; Ficuciello (2008) 98.

Wycherley (1960) 65.

IG I³ 84, ll. 36–37: 'and the gates leading to the bath of Isthmonikos'.

Judeich (1931²) 142.

Travlos (1971) 160; Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29, gate XI.

IG I³ 84, ll. 35–36: 'and the gates from where the initiates set out to the sea'.

Judeich (1931²) 142.

Liagouras (1973–1974) 45–47, fig. 8. The calculation of the postern's width is based on the excavation plan.

Costaki (2006) 393–394 (II.52).

Miliadis (1955) 38–45; Travlos (1971) 160; Brouskari (1980); Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29, gate XIII.

Stavropoulos (1965c).

It was originally suggested that the wall made a sharp change of direction northward, see Stavropoulos (1965c) 85. If, however, the excavated wall is not part of the curtain, but is the western wall of the gate, then it is likely

that this gate belongs to the courtyard type, see Theocharakis (2011) 85, 107–108.

Five sections of the ancient road that led south towards the gate at 25 Erechtheiou have been uncovered, see Costaki (2006) 377–378, 390–396 (II.33, II.49, II.50, II.51, II.53). For the reconstruction of this roadway, see Travlos (1971) 167, fig. 217; Ficuciello (2008) pl. II, no. 37; Costaki (2009) 109, pl. 5.15.

Miliadis (1955) 43–45.

Parlama (1990) 34.

Miliadis (1955) 45. According to Travlos, after the Peloponnesian War and the destruction of the Phaleric wall, the gate at 25 Erechtheiou street (gate XIII) and the crossing road both ceased to be used, and the entrance from Phaleron into the city was then served only by the Phaleric gate (gate XII), see Travlos (1960) 54.

See Parlama (1990) 35. For the ground plan of the excavation, see Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 2N-153, 0, Erechtheiou 25, which shows the excavation of the wall across the width of Erechtheiou street.

Philippaki (1966b) (15 Erysichthonos); Spathari (1982b) (50 Irakleidon). See Travlos (1971) 159; Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29, gate II.

Archive of the 3rd Ephorate of the Antiquities of Athens, Φ1-10A/5.

On the establishment of Piraeus as the main port of Athens after the battle of Salamis in 480 B.C., see Papadopoulos (2003) 285. The first secure physical evidence of the shipsheds in Zea Harbour has been dated to the 5th century B.C.; see Lovén (2012) 53–72, 167; for evidence of earlier slipways in the Piraeus, possibly as early as 493/2 B.C., see Lovén (2012) 169.

The road may have forked to lead northwards to the Sacred gate and the Dipylon, see Stroud (1998) 105;

Costaki (2006) 196.

Plut. *Theseus* 27.3: 'and the graves of the fallen are on either side of the road leading to the gates near the heroon of Chalkodon, which are now called the Piraic gates'.

Plut. *Sulla* 14.3: 'having thrown down and levelled [the wall] between the Piraic and the Sacred gates'.

Alexandri (1973–1974a); Lyngouri-Tolia (1999) 57–63. See Travlos (1971) 159; Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29, gate VI.

Lyngouri-Tolia (1999) 61.

Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou (1988) 101.

Threpsiades (1960). See Travlos (1971) 159–160; Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29, gate VIII.

Zachariadou (1994) 29–30; Zachariadou (2000b) 156. For the reconstruction of this road, see Travlos (1971) 167, fig. 217; Ficuciello (2008) pl. II, no. 80; Costaki (2009) 109, pl. 5.15.

The bath is probably named after Διοχάρ[ρ]ης (II) [Δι]οκλέους Πιθε(ύς), attested in mining leases around 350 B.C., see Walbank (1983) 198. For Diochares as a probable sponsor of public works in the time of Lykourgos, see Marchiandi (2011a) 102.

IG II² 2495, ll. 8–6: 'moat of Athena towards the [gates] by the baths of Diochares'.

For the date of the inscription, see Walbank (1983) 199.

According to Walbank, the walls were under the protection of Athena Polias, see Walbank (1983) 197, n. 89. The τέλμα of Athens is also found in inscription *SEG* 21.651: ὄρος τέλματος Ἀθηνάας, discovered east of the Dipylon, see Gruben (1964) 414. *LSJ⁹* s.v. τέλμα: *standing water, pond, marsh, swamp*. A land lease of 343/2 B.C. designates an area bordered by the *telma*, showing that it

was the moat outside the walls: *SEG* 33.167, fg. c. col. III, lines 10–11.

Walbank (1983) 191, n. 70.

See Travlos (1971) 160.

Strabo 9.1.19: ‘today there are springs with pure and potable water, so they say, outside the gates of Diochares, as they are called, near the Lyceum’. For the river Eridanos, see Kordellas (1879) 60–62; Dörpfeld (1888b) 215; Frazer (1898) II, 198–201; Pappas (1999) 27–28; Kypraiou (2010); Stroszeck (2017) 33–40.

A large channel that collected water from a stream of the Eridanos river ran beneath the southern retaining wall of the moat, exiting through a complex system of smaller pipes at the north retaining wall, from where the water drained into the fortification moat, see Threpsiades (1960) 26 and the Catalogue of Sites, TH49 (other finds).

Alexandri (1976b) fig. 2. See Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29 (an indicated gate but without a Latin numeral); Costaki (2006) 114, 445; Ficuciello (2008) 165, pl. II.

For the problem of the position of two blocks of the *proteichisma* founded deeper than the rest and demonstrating that the *proteichisma* extended beyond the retaining wall of the road, see Costaki (2006) 445. During excavations of the fortification, where cases have been identified showing a close integration of the *proteichisma* with the retaining wall of the crossing road, the continuation of blocks of the *proteichisma* towards the area of the road is not observed (TH118 [15 Erysichthonos, Piraic gate] and TH96 [18 Erechtheiou]).

A small indentation of the wall was discovered in a plot at the junction of 91 Evripidou and Sachtouri (TH14), 30 m. from the putative gate site on Evripidou street; it denoted the beginning of a widening and then the positioning of steps towards the battlements or a tower, see Alexandri (1972d) 58.

Stuart marked some remains of the city wall forming an obtuse angle on his map with the indication 'A' in the area northeast of Koumoundourou square (Fig. 16); it is not currently possible to locate it within the fabric of the city. Judeich seems to place these remains at the junction of Sachtouri and Korinnis streets, while Travlos, on the basis of more recent excavations, shifted the position of Stuart's indication northeast of Judeich's proposal; this amendment appears to be connected to the establishment of a position of the gate to the west of Evripidou street (see Fig. 30; between gates V and VI).

Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29, gate VII.

Travlos (1971) 159.

Travlos Archive, Athens Folder 148, 8, Dragatsaniou.

Archive of the 3rd Ephorate of the Antiquities of Athens, Φ1-10A/130/12-10-1957.

During the construction of the Leon Melas house in Klafthmonos square between the then Post Office and British Embassy (Rousopoulos [1873] 411), the interpretation of the fortification remains brought to light by the excavation (TH35) was questioned. Rousopoulos noted a 'complex' discovery at the east end of the wall on Dragatsaniou street, which he identified as a tower, see Rousopoulos (1873) 414. Efstratiades wrote: 'a large krepis was found in the foundation trenches, certainly from a tower of the ancient peribolos', see Diary of P. Efstratiades, p. 173, no. 1284 bis, 17th May 1872.

See Rousopoulos (1873) 414.

Alexandri (1969e).

See Travlos (1971) 167, fig. 217. See also Costaki (2006) 115 (IV.17); Costaki (2008) 155–156, n. 54; Ficuciello (2008) pl. II, no. 75.

Alexandri (1969f) figs. 21–22.

A similar destruction is evidenced by the remains of a Late Roman aqueduct found at the gate on Aioulou street (TH29).

The excavation ground plan for the plot at the corner of 7 Lamachou and 37 Nikis streets is preserved in the Travlos Archive (Athens Folder A-147,13, Nikodemou and Nikis), entitled 'Karystinos Building, Nikis no. 37, Roman aqueduct, 1:50, Iakovidis, January 1954', upon which Travlos noted that, according to S. Iakovidis, the aqueduct functioned until the 4th century A.D.

Costaki (2006) 122, 600 (XXI.9); Ficuciello (2008) 177–178.

Alexandri (1972b) 47. See Costaki (2006) 408–409; Ficuciello (2008) 97–98.

The existence of a *proteichisma* north of the Ilissos riverbed from the Olympeion to Vourvachi street (TH67) has not yet been ascertained. The final publication of the 2007 excavation in the plot at 12–14 Iosiph ton Rogon (TH64) should contribute to our understanding of the ancient topography of the area.

A cluster of six tombs of the mid-4th century B.C. were discovered within the line of the wall in the adjacent plot (3 Vourvachi) to the north of the gate on Vourvachi street (TH68), see Alexandri (1969a) 31. Unless we assume that this is an exceptional case of intra muros burials, then we must conclude that the two circuits, Themistoklean and Hellenistic, are not identical at this arm of the fortification. For the possible presence of a pre-existing roadside cemetery of the 6th century B.C., see Marchiandi (2011c) 427, 429; Dimitriadou (2012) 320.

Curtius and Kaupert in 1881 adopted an entirely new approach from that of previous researchers to the gates in the area southwest of the Olympeion, revising their own earlier reconstruction of the road network (Sheet 2, *Atlas von Athen*, 1878), and suggesting the positions not of one but two gates in the region (Sheet 1a, *Karten von Attika*, 1881). The first was identified at the gate site on the

Phaleron road (the gate named Itonian) which led to Phaleron, and the second, an anonymous gate placed for the first time on Vourvachi street, from which they suggested led the main road to Sounion. Judeich then agreed with Curtius and Kaupert about the possible existence of two gates in the area (Judeich 1931², 142).

See discussion in Travlos (1960) 54, n. 1. Ioannis Threpsiades noted that an ancient gate should be expected beneath the unexcavated surface of Syngrou avenue, just north of the plot at the junction of 2 Syngrou Avenue and Vourvachi street (TH73), which he himself excavated, see the newspaper *Kathimerini*, 25/05/1958. If the hypothesis is correct that the two ancient roads which bordered the sanctuary of Kodros, Neleos and Basile to the east and south actually connected with the ring road of the wall, as Costaki has proposed (Costaki 2006, 125), then we cannot exclude the possibility of a gate at the junction of Syngrou and Vourvachi.

See Costaki (2006) 690, fig. 89; Ficuciello (2008) pl. II, no. 36; Costaki (2009) 109, fig. 5.15.

See Kaza-Papageorgiou (2009) 198–199; Marchiandi (2011a) 101, n. 38.

Alciphron 3.15.4: ‘It is better to be buried before the Diomeid gate or the Hippades gate’.

For the position of the deme of Diomeia, see Judeich (1931²) 169 ff; Traill (1975) 39. It is believed that the name derives from the local hero Diomos, son of Kollytos, see Papachatzis (1974) 282–283.

Diog. Laertes. 6.13: ‘He used to converse in the Kynosarges gymnasium a short distance from the gates’.

Plut. *Themistokles* 1.2: ‘this is outside the gates, a gymnasium of Herakles’. For the Kynosarges gymnasium, see Travlos (1970). For the location of the gymnasium within the deme of Diomeia, see Judeich (1931²) 141, n. 2; Billot (1992) 124–129; Marchiandi (2011c) 429. The

architectural evidence uncovered by rescue excavations in the area of the left bank of the Ilissos have not yet identified with certainty the Kynosarges gymnasium of the Classical period.

For the Kynosarges cemetery, see Travlos (1971) 340–341; Billot (1992); Marchiandi (2011c) 506–507; Eliopoulos (2001–2004a); Eliopoulos (2010).

See Dimitriadou (2012) 206, 264–265.

For the location of the gate, see Ficuciello (2008) 98; Marchiandi (2011c) 429.

For the connection of sections of ancient roads at 16 Sapphous and 31 Aischylou streets with the proposed gate, see Costaki (2006) 443 (V.1), 114 (IV.14, I).

See Alexandri (1977) 26 (10 Sapphous), Alexandri (1968f) (12 Sapphous). See also Dimitriadou (2012) 205. The existence of numerous ancient graves has been known since Pittakis, who investigated ancient inscriptions in the area of Gerani, which lies north of Sophokleous street and stretches from Agiou Konstantinou square to Kotzia square, see *ARMA* 2007, 39–40, (Iemmata 184–185); *ARMA* 2010, 252–260.

Curtius/Kaupert (1881) Sheet Ia.

This position is approximately 40 m. from the obtuse angle of the *proteichisma* excavated at 7–9 Sapphous street (TH17).

For the possible existence of a gate at this point, see Alexandri (1969g) 70; Costaki (2006) 114, 443.

Following the construction of the underground car park beneath Kotzia square, Streit street now coincides with the vehicle entry ramp from the side of Sophokleous street; there are paths for pedestrians on either side of this ramp.

For the discovery of the ancient cemetery in Kotzia square,

see Zachariadou/Kyriakou (1988) 23–27 (498 graves); Orphanou (1998) (115 graves).

Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou (1988) 101; Costaki (2006) 114, 425; Ficuciello (2008) 197. The construction of the Municipal Theatre (1873–1888) and other more recent constructions inflicted great damage upon the architectural remains under the western and central parts of Kotzia Square, see Zachariadou/Kyriakou (1988) 22. It is most likely that traces of the ancient gate were destroyed by such building activities.

For this reconstruction, see Costaki (2006) 114, 434.

The eastern road I leading to the gate on Aioulou street has been dated to the 1st half of the 5th century B.C. and the west road III leading to the possible gate on Streit street has been dated to the late 6th century B.C., see Zachariadou/Kyriakou (1988) 23.

The discovery of a Late Roman cistern and water channels proved that the crossing ancient road was discontinued in the second half of the 3rd century A.D., see Lyngouri-Tolia (1999) 61–62.

Zachariadou/Kyriakou (1988) 24–25; Dimitriadou (2012) 312–313.

Threpsiades (1971) 27.

Ficuciello (2008) 176, pl. II, no. 81. It is worth noting here Manolis Korres' point that within the area of Plaka almost none of the streets of the 18th century lines up with an ancient one, see Korres (2010f) 122.

Zachariadou *et al.* (2005).

Originally it was believed that these funerary monuments of the 4th century B.C. flanked the ancient road uncovered at 3 Lamachou street, which is 70 m. away from 27 Nikis street, see Alexandri (1970b) 77.

Threpsiades/Travlos (1961–1962) fig. 1, pl. 8a; Kyriakou

(2001–2004b) figs. 75–82; Travlos (1971) 160; Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29, gate X.

Judeich did not agree with this logic, believing that there were no gates in the southeastern part of the Themistoklean fortification; he avoided marking the positions of gates on his map along the whole length of the wall from the gate on Karageorgi Servias street at Syntagma to the gate on Vourvachi street; he believed that Hymettos and the Ilissos created an unfavourable terrain for a road system, and that a central road in the area would lack some termination point, since Hymettos itself very soon makes the continuation impossible; moreover, he supported his thesis with the fact that the building of the Stadium dates to the time of Lykourgos, see Judeich (1931²) 142.

This may be the same road recorded on the maps of Spon and Fauvel, see Costaki (2006) 588.

See Travlos (1960) 54; Travlos (1971) 160; Costaki (2006) 85–86, 125; Ficuciello (2008) 79; Costaki (2009) 109, pl. 5.15. For the Kallirrhoe spring at the Ilissos and a summary of the problems associated with its location, see Korres (2010e) 100.

The Archaic structure of the 6th century B.C. identified by Markellos Mitsos in 1939 near the Ilissos between a rocky hill and the south wall of the Olympieion precinct was identified as the temple of Apollo Pythios, see Mitsos (1948–1949) 5; Lemerle (1939) 294. For the identification of the Archaic building as the lawcourt ‘at the Delphinion’, see Travlos (1971) 83. The question of the identity of the Apollo Pythios sanctuary south of the Olympieion peribolos was revived by Matthaïou (2011).

For identifying the temple of Apollo Delphinios as the Pythion, see Robertson (2005) 54; Marchiandi (2011c) 433. For the re-evaluation of the position of the Pythion in the area, see Matthaïou (2011) 263–265.

Mitsos made reference to a gate in the area south of the

Olympieion peribolos, but there is nothing to confirm that he saw a gate of the wall. A pot of the late 6th century B.C. was discovered during excavations in 1939–1940 in the ‘foundations of the gate-shaped structure to the northeast of the rocky mount’, see Mitsos (1947) 262, no. 4.

Plut. *Theseus* 12.3: ‘the Hermes [i.e. the herm] to the east of the sanctuary [Delphinion] is called the Hermes at Aigeos’s gate’.

See Wycherley (1963b) 92–93.

Travlos (1971) 160.

Travlos (1971) 160; Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29, gate XII.

Costaki (2006) 399–400 (II.58), 406 (II.64), 411–412 (II.72, II.73, II.74). See Taxiarchi (2009b).

See Travlos (1971) 160; Taxiarchi (2009b) 218; Poulou (2013) 242.

Threpsiades (1971) 15.

IG I³ 84, ll. 35–36: ‘and the gates from where the initiates set out to the sea’. See Judeich (1931²) 142.

Judeich (1931²) 142. The ἄλαδε gate is placed on the axis of the Phaleric road by Wycherley (1960, 64–65) and Travlos (1971, 160).

For the problems associated with the study of the ancient roads discovered at 5–7 Mitseon and Zitrou streets (II.56), and at 3 Mitsaion and Zitrou streets (II.57), see Costaki (2006) 126–127. For the excavation of a section of the ancient road at the intersection of 8–10 Misaraliotou and Mitsaion streets, see Kokkoliou (2001–2004b). For the proposed route of the ancient road that crossed the area, see Ficuciello (2008) 90, pl. II, no.18; Costaki (2009) 109, fig. 5.15.

For the excavation at 3 Mitsaion and Zitrou streets, see

Andreiomenu (1966c).

Costaki (2006) 126–127. See Threpsiades (1950) 70, and pl. A'.

For this thoroughfare, see Costaki (2006) 126, 378–379 (II.34).

See Ficuciello (2008) pl. II; Costaki (2009) 109, fig. 5.15.

This natural passage perhaps terminated at the north gate of the *diateichisma*, see Costaki (2006) 584 (XV.4); Ficuciello (2008) 117–119, pl. II, no. 48; Costaki (2009) 109, fig. 5.15. At least 10 sections of ancient roads have been identified or partially excavated in the area of the western hills, see Dakoura-Vogiatzoglou (2009) 233.

See Conwell (2008) 30–33.

See Zambon (2014) 102.

For quarrying in the area of the western hills, see Biris (1966) 394–397; Dakoura-Vogiatzoglou (2013) 204. The last illegal quarrying near the ancient gate took place in the mid-20th century at the site 'Skalakia', see Dakoura-Vogiatzoglou (2013) 204.

Judeich (1931²) 140.

Amm. Marc. *Vita Thucydidis* 17: 'the so-called Kimonian monuments are just next to the gates named Melitides in Koile'.

According to Travlos, the deme of Melite extended to the north side of this particular gate, see Travlos (1971) 161; Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29, gate XV.

Hdt. 6.103.3; Amm. Marc. *Vita Thucydidis* 17, 55; Plut. *Kimon* 4.2.

Lalonde (2006b) 103 (n. 82), 114.

Hdt. 6.103.3: 'Kimon was buried outside the city, beyond the so-called 'Road through the Hollow' [the Koile road]'.

Judeich (1931²) 140; Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29; Costaki (2006) 581–584; Ficuciello (2008) 99–102; Consoli (2011) 349–351.

Andreiomenou (1966b) 90, fig. 29. See Costaki (2006) 584 (XV.5).

M. Korres, KAS Archive, Act 15/21-4-1989. The report was submitted at a meeting of KAS that was looking into possible sites for the New Acropolis Museum. Apolloniou square is between Voutié, Arakynthou, Gika and Antaiou streets.

The extension of the urban fabric of Ano Petralona up to Stisikleous street obliterated a large part of the archaeological area, with a width of around 200 m. and twice the length, see Korres (2010d) 70, n. 102.

Korres identified the signs of wheel ruts on the map of Kleanthis – Schaubert, see Korres (2010a) Part 6: 'The Maps', 6.2, 4. See Korres (2010d) 70, no. 50.

See Curtius/Kaupert (1878) Sheet 3.

Judeich (1931²) 140. See also Travlos (1960) 52; Travlos (1971) 121, 159; Travlos (1988) 34, fig. 29, gate I. Ronald Stroud noted that the pronounced slope of the ground from the side of Kymaion, Akamantos and Galateias streets spoke against a hypothetical gate at the junction of Aktaiou and Akamantos streets. The difficulty for wagons to reach this gate could be negated, he suggests, if the sought-after gate was situated north of Galateias street, where a significant drop in elevation can be observed, see Stroud (1998) 105, n. 44.

See Korres (2008) 73–74; Korres (2010d) 70, n. 48. For the location of the *barathron*, see Lalonde (2006b) 114–116.

Plut. *Them.* 22.2: 'where now the executioners throw the bodies of those who have been put to death'.

Travlos (1971) 159; Lalonde (2006b) 115. Perhaps the adjective Δημίαισι, meaning public or common, is also

associated with Kerameikos, see Stroszeck (2017) 66.

Korres (2008) 74.

Korres noted the antiquity of the quarry situated just outside the line of the Themistoklean city wall, having compared the maps of Kleanthis – Schaubert and of Curtius – Kaupert, see Korres (2008) 73–74; Korres (2010d) 70, n. 49.

Ficuciello (2008) 125, pl. II, nos. 53, 54, 55; Costaki (2009) 109, fig. 5.15.

For this road and its possible relationship with the wall, see Costaki (2006) 132; Ficuciello (2008) 125, pl. II, no. 54.

Philios (1903) 44.

Philios (1903) 43.

Ioannis Kalamis was a 'resident of Athens (Erysichthonos)' (Land Registry of Athens, vol. 766, p. 458, Contract no. 11806, 9-5-1920). The property at 9 Erysichthonos and 42 Pouloupoulou bordered 'to the north a plot formerly owned by Kalamis' (Land Registry of Athens, vol. 3537, p. 354, Contract no. 87069, 6-6-1988), probably coinciding with the plot at 7 Erysichthonos (TH123). The actual limits of the old property cannot be determined with certainty, since there would probably have been some change in the boundaries of the Kalamis property since 1901.

Philios (1903) 44.

Lalonde (2006b) 111, 113, 116.

See the slope of the ground south of the series of threshing floors on the map of Kleanthis – Schaubert, about 100 m. southwest of the church of Agios Athanasios Kourkouris, which might leave room for a road crossing; see Korres 2010a, part 6: 'The Maps', 6.2, 4.

S. Karouzou, in Amandry (1947–1948) 391; Charitonidis (1958) 125, n. 3.

Parlama (1993) 31; Kokkoliou (1997a) 49, n. 10.
Zachariadou (2000a) 247. See Marchiandi (2011a) 99–100.

Zachariadou (2000b) 156. For the view that the cemetery at Syntagma square was part of a single extensive Classical-Hellenistic and Roman cemetery, which extended to the northeastern area of the city from Syntagma to Korai street, and ‘increases or decreases in extent depending on the needs of each period’, see Parlama (1990–1991) 238, n. 17.

See Andreiomenou (1966d) 79.

For the hypothetical existence of a gate at this site, see Zachariadou (2000a) 249; Marchiandi (2011a) 100.

Dörpfeld (1888a) 232.

Judeich (1931²) 142–143. See also Weller (1913) 65.

See Charitonidis (1958) 129.

See Zachariadou (2000b) 157; Zachariadou (2001–2004) 269.

Very near the area northeast of the junction of Kolokotroni and Stadiou, outside the city wall, archaeological research has identified the bed of a small stream, which in Antiquity flowed to the southwest foothills of Lykavettos. The stream bed was discovered in a ventilation shaft of the Metro at the junction of 11–13 Panepistimiou and 5 Amerikis streets (see Chatzipouliou [1996] and Chatzipouliou [2000]), and in the plot at 3 Amerikis, (see Kyriakou [1998] 63 [fig. 4], 65). The sharp slope of the ancient ground level here has been known since the 1920s, and has been noticed during archaeological research in the adjacent block to the south, where the Royal Stables were located, especially toward the corner of Amerikis and Stadiou streets, where excavation of the soil reached down to 7–8 m. (see Kyparissis [1924–1925] 70), while to the side of Voukourestiou street, the excavation depth reached 4–5 m. The form of the terrain is quite different now, since the

alluvium of the stream has distorted the relief. This might reflect the section of water channel east of the Schist Rock depicted on the map of Kleanthis and Schaubert (1831–1832), or on that of the ‘1847 Committee’ (see section 6, in Korres 2010a, ‘The Maps’). A similar stream bed is noted on Sheet Ia of *Karten von Attika* of Curtius and Kaupert (1881), as well as the one illustrated on the map of Judeich (1931²), as being the main branch of the Eridanos river.

The east part of the city was a theatre of war with strategic value for the Athenians. In 410 B.C., the Athenians were arrayed under Thrasyllus παρὰ τὸ Λύκειον γυμνάσιον, awaiting the arrival of the Lakedaimonians who had progressed πρὸς αὐτὰ τὰ τείχη (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.33). In 403 B.C., the historian mentions that great stones were placed κατὰ τὸν ἐκ Λυκείου δρόμον (Xen. *Hell.* 2.4.27) to prevent the advance of the enemy. The position of the road to the Lyceum gymnasium is not known, and so the location of the gate where the enemy attacked cannot be estimated. The site of this road is discussed by Matthaiou (2007, 504).

The function and size of openings is discussed in Lawrence (1979) 302–304.

The distances of the southern Valerian gates are approximately as follows: North of the Olympieion – South of the Olympieion = 200 m.; South of the Olympieion – Iosiph ton Rogon = 200 m.; Iosiph ton Rogon – Vourvachi = 100 m.; Vourvachi – Phaleric gate = 270 m.; Phaleric gate – Mitsaion = 130 m.; Mitsaion – Erechtheiou = 200 m.

Kyriakou (2001–2004b).

According to Manolis Korres, this road was shorter in comparison to the arterial road leading to the Mesogaia, see Korres (2008) 95, 98.

The only stretch of ancient road documented in the region is at the junction of Vasilissis Sophias avenue and Panepistimiou street, see Costaki (2006) 136. It was found on the remains of the Valerian wall (V8), albeit on a NW-SE

orientation. See Costaki (2009) 109, fig. 5.15.

Taxiarchi 2009a. Fauvel noted a gate site on the road leading to the Mesogaia (a point adopted also by Judeich). The hypothetical extension of this thoroughfare into the late Middle Byzantine period is marked also on the map of medieval Athens by Bouras (2017).

We have little information for the preceding period, which is limited to seven cases where the wall was dismantled in order to facilitate the foundations of new buildings (TH17, TH25, TH30, TH80, TH103, V4, PH1), while in one case, the ancient blocks were transferred to an archaeological site (TH81).

The Administrative Archives of the 3rd EPKA began to be compiled in 1964, see ΦΕΚ 687/15-11-1963 and ΦΕΚ 30/Τ.Α./15-2-1964. It contains a mass of correspondence documents organised according to the addresses of the plots which had finds needing preservation and protection.

The Archives of the Minutes of the Central Archaeological Council begin in 1956, and contain the Council's decisions and opinions arranged in chronological order. The Council had a great deal of power up to 1978, because it was a decisive body; since then it only has an advisory position. For the changing role of the Central Archaeological Council, see Petrakos (1982) 42.

At the north (1) and south (4) slopes of the Acropolis, in the Agora, the Kerameikos, the Olympieion (2), the so-called Gymnasium of Diogenes, the Medrese, the hills of the Muses, the Pnyx, and the Nymphs, the Library of Hadrian (3), and the western access to the Acropolis.

The case of the plot at the junction of 33 Syngrou avenue with Donta street (TH80) is characteristic, see KAS Archive, Act 61/30-10-1961: 'Because the interested party has already excavated the foundations destroying part of the ancient remains that appeared at the corner of Syngrou avenue and Donta street, the Council recommends that

the Administration reminds the competent town planning office of previous documents of the administration concerning the prohibition of excavations prior to the granting of the legal license by the Archaeological Service'. In the minutes of the Central Archaeological Council, it is not clear whether the destruction refers to the stone blocks of the walls. In the same year, however, the *Archaialogikon Deltion* published the excavation of 'large contiguous poros stones, of which three were discerned, perhaps part of the wall that crosses at this point', see Third Archaeological Region of Athens (1961–1962) 26. The description refers to the findings at the plot at the junction of Syngrou avenue and Donta street.

The fate of parts of the wall that came to light in the period 1967–1974 is not known at 5 Sapphous (TH18), 28–32 Athanasiou Diakou (V17), Mitropoleos-Pentelis-Petraki (TH47), 25 Syngrou (TH75), and 44 Syngrou avenue and Donta street (TH82). There is no information on the management of certain parts of the fortification that were excavated up to the end of the 1970s, such as at 23 Syngrou avenue (TH74), 90 Evripidou (TH16), 30 Nikis (TH53), 17 Erysichthonos and Irakleidon (TH116), 91 Evripidou and Sachtouri streets (TH14).

Exceptions are: the two cases of 15–17 Mitropoleos, and 96 Adrianou, whose mixed solutions are presented independently under both categories of preservation, that is, in basement areas of buildings and beneath glass structures.

KAS Archive, Act 40/15-11-1956.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1-10Α Φ2, 800/14-11-1956.

KAS Archive, Act 27/7-4-1963, 21/17-3-1964. The question of building height was one of the central issues of the administration at that time, and the Central Archaeological Council met twice on the determination of the height of the building at 72 Adrianou street, see KAS Archive, Acts 27/7-4-1963 and 21/17-3-1964.

KAS Archive, Act 21/15-7-1968.

ΦΕΚ 179/28-6-1957.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1-10Α Φ2/531/23-7-1957.

It is noteworthy that the negotiations initially proposed the preservation of the entire surviving portion of the wall in exchange for permission for two additional floors. The proposal was not adopted, see Archives of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1-10Α Φ2/53/9-9-1957 and KAS Archive, Act 61/10-9-1957.

KAS Archive, Act 30/24-7-1957.

Threpsiades also noted that before the demolition of a section of the wall, there was no complete archaeological documentation: 'it seems that from the discovery of this wall no sufficient evidence was kept, that is, photographs, drawings and diaries, and notes. It is, however, known that there was almost systematic excavation here', see I. Threpsiades, Archive of the 3rd EPKA, 53/9-9-1957.

KAS Archive, Act 37/22-10-57. Drawings of the wall's plan are kept in the Administrative Archive of the 3rd Ephorate.

KAS Archive, Act 30/24-7-1957.

Archives of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10Α/2519/22-11-1966.

KAS Archive, Act 17/17-04-1958. Threpsiades suggested that the ancient remains found on the western edge of the plot towards Syngrou avenue, that is, the side of the cisterns, the three adjacent walls of 5 meters long, and part of the drainage, be preserved in the basement of the building along with the Valerian wall, see Threpsiades (1971) 18.

KAS Archive, Act 18/24-04-1958.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10Α, Φ1/333/5-3-1973.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10Α, Φ1/1086/10-6-1983. A note from an autopsy in 1990 makes a recommendation 'to avoid the accumulation of goods in the basement,

which could potentially be detrimental to the ancient remains, and in general the storage of bulky and heavy objects, the movement of which could also cause damage', see Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ1/1679/7-9-1990.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/140/21-1-1993.

KAS Archive, Acts 25/5-5-1961, 48/5-9-1961, 7/26-1-1962.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1-10A/Φ2/2482/24-11-1965.

KAS Archive, Act 61/3-12-1965. In 1972, the possibility of visiting the wall was completely lost after the conversion of space from archaeological to storage use, see Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ2/1672/4-9-1972. The conservation conditions remained the same until 1978, see Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/General, autopsy report, 14-6-1978.

KAS Archive, Act 61/3-12-1965. See also Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ1/42/21-1-1993, 203/28-1-1993.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1-10A/Φ1/2554/3-12-1965. See also KAS Archive, Acts 63/18-12-1965 and 4/24-2-1967.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/General/1739/23-6-1978.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/General, autopsy report, 17-6-1978.

The original aim was to preserve the ancient remains visible and open to the public accessible from Erysichthonos street, see KAS Archive, Act 13/10-5-1966; Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/387/20-3-1968.

KAS Archive, Act 23/17-10-1970.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/General/17-6-1978.

See Tsoniotis (2006) 65-66, figs. 13-14.

KAS Archive, Act 14/17-4-1973.

KAS Archive, Act 30/17-7-1958 and 35/30-7-1959.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ3/11206/20-5-1971.

During the discussion by the members of the Central Archaeological Council for the building restoration in 1974, no mention was made of the rationale for the preservation of the remains of the fortification, see KAS Archive, Acts 29/4-12-1974, 30/16-12-1974.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ11/1302/11-5-1977. See also KAS Archive, Acts 10/24-6-1977, 12/29-7-1977, 45/25-11-1980.

The splitting up of the underground space was considered to be a major disadvantage of the protection solution, see Minutes of the autopsy of the Central Archaeological Council, 4-6-1980, in the Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ8. The idea was put forward to ensure the visibility of the upper surface of the wall through a grill placed into the floor of the ground floor, but the proposal was not adopted by the Council because the free height of the basement above the upper surface of the wall would almost touch the horizontal elements.

For the preservation works on the eastern side of the wall in the area of the large oil press-storehouse, see Choremi-Spetsieri (1985) 7, n. 5. KAS Archive, Act 10/10-3-1992. For recent evidence on the Benizeli Mansion Excavation, see Tsoniotis (2016).

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/702/24-3-1988, Φ1/10A/772/4-4-1988.

A prerequisite for the preservation of this building was a change to the footings. The first study proposed by the owner was a very small shift of the building to the west, but it required the dismantling of a considerable number of blocks of the *proteichisma* over a length of at least 4 m. In the second proposal, the foundations would be divided into two discrete sections with corresponding foundations at two different levels, thus ensuring the integrity of the

ancient members. The Directorate for the Restoration of Ancient Monuments proposed the opening of windows to the remains in the basement, but this was rejected by the planners for static reasons, see Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ5/2421/9-11-1988.

The 'Parthenon association' countered against the construction of the building: 'We call upon the officials and those responsible to rethink the problem and to prevent this building from being built at the expense of the environment, at the expense of the aesthetics of the area, and to the detriment of the quality of life of the inhabitants, as soon as possible', see Archive of the 3rd EPKA Φ1/10A/Φ5/4527/20-12-1989.

KAS Archive, Act 16/9-5-1989.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ12/Φ5/1/1327/17-7-1990. The proposal was not approved by the Central Archaeological Council, while on the other hand the construction project proposed by the owner of the building was to sink into the length of the core of the wall a series of 90 cm pillars. There was a strong protest from the Ephorate, expressing its fears that the extraction of the material from the filling of the wall with drills would damage the sides of the wall, as the ancient blocks were not connected either mechanically or with any binder. The result would break down the core of the wall, in digging it out, which would ultimately lead to the partial destruction of the wall, see KAS Archive, Act 31/9-10-1990.

KAS Archive, Act 32/16-10-1990.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ12/15-4-1991.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/2368/6-10-1998; the Local Council of Attica Monument unanimously gave its opinion about the preservation of the entire section of the *proteichisma*, see 679/27-10-98.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ8/2505/9-7-2002. See KAS Archive, Acts 1/4-1-2000, 36/26-9-2000.

Of the 20 fortifications remains preserved by reburial, the catalogue contains only seven. There is no information available for the preservation of the remaining 13 (TH13, TH36, TH72, TH88, TH90, TH91, TH97, TH98, TH99, TH121, TH122, V9, V10). References to sites TH23, TH33 and TH35, where parts of the remains have been preserved by reburial, are classified in the preservation category of basement areas of buildings.

KAS Archive, Act 6/7-4-1967.

KAS Archive, Act 10/17-11-1967.

KAS Archive, Act 13/10-5-1966.

KAS Archive, Act 3/10-2-1968.

KAS Archive, Act 9/2-4-1968; Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ8/8858/11-6-1968.

KAS Archive, Act 1/9-1-1969.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ8/12089/3-6-1970.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ8/1033/17-6-1970, Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/General/17-6-1978, Φ1/10A/General/29-6-1978, and Φ1/10A/General/1583/19-5-1979. See also Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ8/1938/8-8-1979.

KAS Archive, Act 24/13-8-1968.

KAS Archive, Act 37/18-11-1968.

The Ephorate initially recommended preserving the discovered *proteichisma* visible and accessible, and proposed the expropriation of a portion of the basement and the ground floor of the new building after a modification of its footing, see Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ2/2897/12-10-1977. Despite the approval of the Directorate for the Restoration of Ancient Monuments, the proposal was not approved by the Central Archaeological Council, which unanimously gave its opinion in favour of

the construction of the building with the condition that the remains were to be preserved by reburial, see KAS Archive, Act 9/25-2-1978.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ5/1868/22-8-1991, 2129/14-10-1991.

KAS Archive, Act 16/6-3-1962.

Lyngouri-Tolia (1990b) 37. There are no records in the archives of the 3rd EPKA nor of KAS concerning the preservation of these two sections of the wall. There is, however, a handwritten letter from a resident of the area asking for an information sign to be erected for the wall at 24-26 Veikou street, see Archive of the 3rd EPKA, ΥΠΠΕ/ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤ/ΑΙ/ΦΟ1/58800/2017 /15-9-92.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/General/13-6-1978. Half-finished poros column drums and a 'fine triglyph, intact' (Philippaki [1966b] 57) were found used as building material in the *proteichisma*. Because the colours of the ancient triglyphs were preserved, the Ephorate proposed to remove and transfer the triglyphs and metope to the Museum, see KAS Archive, Act 30/11-5-1965. The proposal was approved by the Central Archaeological Council, KAS Archive, Act 30/11-5-1965. Eventually, however, the project did not materialise.

KAS Archive, Act 2/1-12-1977. The reason was that the use of plaster, which is employed in Roman masonry as a binding material, would not allow the elements to be dismantled and rebuilt, see Archives of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1-10A/Φ3/1343/3-6-1977.

KAS Archive, Act 21/27-5-1978.

KAS Archive, Act 14/21-3-1972. In 1972, the construction of the underground car park caused a serious risk of building collapse due to heavy rains. The developer did not take care to construct the necessary scaffolding, resulting in continuous confrontations between the archaeologists who worked on the site and the

representatives of the construction company: 'you do nothing to create the conditions for the continuation of the archaeological works, and for ten days we are simply spectators of your own work', see Archives of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ3/1959/27-9-1972. By a decision of the Central Archaeological Council, a special committee was set up to resolve the issues that had arisen, see KAS Archive, Act 40/7-11-1972. See also Archives of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ3/2316/18-12-1972.

KAS Archive, Act 25/4-8-1981. See also KAS Archive, Act 47/9-12-1980.

'Numerous elements for the gate and the passing road have been destroyed by the digging', see Archives of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ5/30-7-1982.

There was no lack of protests from residents because of the waste that accumulated from time to time in the area, see Archives of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ7/165/21-1-1988.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ4/924/12-4-2000.

Of the 12 remains preserved under glass constructions, the catalogue includes ten. The same preservation solution was applied at 18 Erechtheiou street (TH96), which is dealt with in the category of conserved remains in basement areas (see p. 296).

KAS Archive, Act 40/12-11-1985.

KAS Archive, Act 11/28-3-1989.

KAS Archive, Act 12/21-3-1995.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ7/3355/24-12-1997.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10A/Φ7/19/12-1-1998. Mr. Theodoridis, owner of the building, financed the preservation and display of the surviving part of the wall, under the supervision of the 3rd Ephorate of Antiquities.

KAS Archive, Act 8/20-5-1975. ΥΠΠΕ/ΑΡΧΑΙΟΤ/Α/
Φ04/15274/1168/14-6-1975.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10Α/Φ11/1739/21-7-1986.
Much damage has been caused by the cars, which have
destroyed, among other things, the clay rings of an
ancient well, see Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10Α/
Φ11/821/8-4-1993.

See letter of the 3rd Ephorate to the National Bank,
Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10Α/Φ11/821/8-4-1993.

KAS Archive, Act 4/25-1-1994.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10Α/2373/6-10-1998. A year
later, the stones were transported to a storage area
owned by the National Bank of Greece, which met the
conditions for the effective protection of the ancient
remains, see Φ1/10Α/782/19-3-1999. For the initial
reservations of the Ephorate, see Archive of the 3rd EPKA,
Φ1/10Α/1648/17-7-1998.

Archive of the 3rd EPKA, Φ1/10Α/ Φ11/2663/13-11-1998.

Krevvata street was parallel to Vrysakiou; it began from
Kladou street and went up to Adrianou.

KAS Archive, Act 22/13-6-1995.

This reference concerns the wall at 6 Dragatsaniou street,
see KAS Archive, Act 30/24-7-1957.

KAS Archive, Act 19/7-6-1994.

Koumanoudes (1882) 11.